

COLUMBIA JOURNALISM REVIEW



FALL, 1967

*The Apollo story: what the
watchdogs missed*

*The urban riots of 1967 — in the
white press and the black*

*How automobile makers misled
the teenage driver*

... to assess the performance of journalism in all its forms, to call attention to its shortcomings and strengths, and to help define — or redefine — standards of honest, responsible service ...

... to help stimulate continuing improvement in the profession and to speak out for what is right, fair, and decent

Fall, 1967

COLUMBIA JOURNALISM REVIEW

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Headlines on cover are from Today, Cocoa Beach, Florida

PASSING COMMENT

views of the editors

The failing American newspaper

Something of a consensus (if it is still possible to use that battered word) has developed concerning the Failing Newspaper Bill. The legislation originated last spring with Senator Hayden of Arizona, who was offering a helping hand to newspaper publishers in Tucson who were threatened with antitrust action. His bill would exempt any joint newspaper operating arrangement (a combined production facility, for example) from antitrust enforcement if "not more than one of the newspaper publications affected by such a combination or operating arrangement is a publication other than a failing newspaper." In other words, one or more "failing" newspapers would be free to work out their salvation in combination with not more than one profit-making newspaper.

At first, the hearings conducted by Senator Hart indicated that there would be a strong support for the bill. Officers of the Hearst and Scripps-Howard groups, as well as counsel for the American Newspaper Publishers Association, testified for it. But opposition formed — not only from unions, but from many newspapers, including *The New York Times*, *The Wall Street Journal*, and *The Washington Post* (none of them failing, of course), and from smaller newspapers and their National Newspaper Association.

The Washington Post stated well the operative practical objection: "Some mergers and some joint operating arrangements would lead to more vigorous competition among stronger newspapers and are therefore in the public interest. Others may not and should therefore be subject to antitrust prosecution."

There is, moreover, the familiar objection on the grounds of principle — that special-interest legislation would conflict with the First Amendment by leaving the press partly dependent on government.

Both objections carry weight. It is heartening

to see diverse segments of the industry turn aside the temptation to accept a dubious favor.

—

Witnesses at the Failing Newspaper Bill hearings suggested repeatedly that newspaper publishers, many of whom complain publicly of cost problems, publish full financial and ownership statements. Not many do now. Freedom of information should begin at home.

PBL begins

The Public Broadcast Laboratory, the Sunday evening program for educational television stations financed by the Ford Foundation, has been on display now for several weeks. This is not a review of the early programs; PBL has had reviews in plenty. This is instead simply an unsolicited observation that PBL seems now to be finding that public television, like commercial television, must work in a real world. Its break with the formats and subject matter of commercial television has not been nearly so complete as some of its advocates had predicted. Moreover, it has found that its problems as a network operation parallel those of commercial broadcasting. ETV stations can be even more sensitive to local business or public pressure than commercial stations, and an unexpected number of stations have failed to carry PBL broadcasts. All this has certainly served as a reminder that public television is going to have to develop, instead of springing forth full-grown. For the time being, it should perhaps be under-sold, rather than the reverse.

No problem

Rusk-Smith: The marriage of Secretary of State Rusk's daughter to Guy Gibson Smith on September 21 turned out to be something less of

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a test for the press than might have been anticipated. The interracial wedding (the Rusks are white) was on many front pages in which — that being the news — Smith was usually identified by race in the headline. Elsewhere in the paper, treatment varied. *The Washington Post* ran a page-one photograph and, inside, a society item headed gracefully: "Rusk's Daughter Marries Washingtonian."

Darts and laurels

Laurels: to *The Washington Post* and the *Detroit Free Press* for their painstaking accounting of each riot death in Newark and Detroit, respectively. The *Free Press*, moreover reach the courageous conclusion that most of the deaths were unnecessary to restoring order.

Dart: to the *Kansas City Times*, for losing sight of its obligation to report the news during the Detroit rioting and converting page-one stories into editorials. Example, July 26: "America was angry — and waking up. The mood was to put a stop to it."

Laurels: to the newspapers in Redwood City, California; Bend, Oregon; and Cairo and Sparta, Illinois, that are cooperating with experimental local press councils established by the American Newspaper Guild's Mellett Fund. (A comment on one council by the editor of the *Bend Bulletin* appears on page 55.)

Dart: to the Tulsa draft board that classified a journalist I-A because it "did not feel that the field of journalism was essential to the national health, safety and welfare."

Laurel: to *Life*, for taking on a subject — organized crime — that has been handled indiffer-

ently by many other publications — and offering a solid exposition. (One qualification: *Life* linked several Boston athletes with gamblers, but did not establish any wrongdoing on their part, thus questionably marring reputations.)

Dart: to KNBC, Los Angeles, for bringing ready-made protest signs to distribute at a Claremont Men's College debate on Viet Nam that it was covering. (The students didn't cooperate.)

Laurel: to the American Broadcasting Company for its four-hour special, *Africa*, first broadcast on September 10. ABC demonstrated convincingly that an extended "blockbuster" can be both original and coherent.

THE NEW YORK TIMES CONTEMPLATES THE AFTERNOON FIELD



"... despite our many advantages, an evening edition did not come out as an acceptable long-term bet." — Arthur Ochs Sulzberger, president and publisher, October 2, 1967

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In October, the Office of Media Relations in the Community Relations Service of the Department of Justice distributed a paper at a Columbia University conference on mass media and race relations. (The conference was arranged by the Justice Department under a contract with the American Jewish Committee and was co-sponsored by the American Civil Liberties Union and the Columbia Graduate School of Journalism.) The paper, dated October 12, was widely quoted in newspapers and the trade press, but, to the Review's knowledge, has not been published complete. The following is the complete text.

The news media and racial disorders — a preliminary report

There are several ways of looking at the influence of the news media on racial disorders. Much of the discussion during the summer of 1967 failed to make these distinctions. First, there is the question of whether the news media serve as an agent of contagion, helping to spread disorders from city to city. Secondly, there is the influence of the media during a disorder. And, finally, there is the matter of the media's responsibility to help prevent disorders, or their re-occurrence.

Although this report is concerned primarily with the role and influence of the news media during a disorder, a passing comment is in order on the other two aspects. No survey was made to determine whether the media helped to spread riots, but there is ample evidence from field reports to indicate media are a factor. In the opinion of some field observers, the media were the single most important factor helping to build tensions in some communities. Yet there is little purpose served by the tendency of some to make the news media the scapegoat for the summer violence. Fingerprinting at the press merely serves to divert further attention from the underlying causes of these difficulties. Besides, it is obviously inconceivable to suggest that the press should simply ignore racial disorders. What seems more in order is a careful study to determine the actual impact of the media on racial tension. This should be done, not with the idea of determining what fetters should be placed on the media, but

rather to let news managers know precisely the effects of their products so they can more judiciously inform the public.

Although there is not much beyond the exercise of sound judgment that news managers can do to stem the spread of disorders from city to city, there are great opportunities to help dissolve the underlying causes. There is general agreement that these roots stem from a myriad of socio-economic ailments that plague our urban centers. One reason that so little progress has been made toward eliminating these afflictions is the lack of understanding or plain indifference by most white persons. Here lies the challenge to the news media. This is not to suggest that the media can somehow magically, single-handedly eliminate all of the deep-seated prejudice that pervades the white majority. But the evidence of repeated public opinion polls detailing the misconceptions of whites indicates great opportunities for the news media to help focus the attention of whites on the facts.

During the riot

The news media have shown much improvement in covering racial disorders, particularly when this summer's performances are compared with those of 1964 and 1965. The improvement is most noticeable with the broadcast media. After last summer, there is probably not an editor or news director who still believes that covering a race riot is a matter of being first with the most sensational, particularly if it's in his own community.

This is not to say that the media were flawless during this year's disorders. The observations below point to some shortcomings. They are based on on-the-scene reports of racial disturbances in four cities — Buffalo, Newark, Detroit, and Houston. However, there was insufficient data to make definitive judgments, particularly because it was impossible to isolate the influence of news media from that of the other factors which determined the course of violent incidents. At best these are tentative conclusions, indeed in some cases merely conjectures, based on rather random observations.

News moratoriums

There has been considerable discussion this year over when the news media should inform the public about a major racial disturbance. Many believe the media, particularly broadcasters, serve to escalate or accelerate the momentum of a disturbance through instant or hasty reports of an outbreak. The "trigger happy" broadcaster, so the argument goes, helps pass the word to potential rioters that "the action is

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on." There are, in fact, several documented instances in which participants have been summoned to the scene of action by broadcast reports.

The counter argument generally has been that the public is entitled to know, regardless of consequences, when a disturbance has erupted in a community, and that the media help to keep unknowing citizens from stumbling into the area of the disturbance.

Without seeking here to resolve this debate, there is, nevertheless, the experience of media in one city of helping to contain disturbances through temporary withholding of initial news reports. That city is Chicago, where for several years some minor incidents with racial overtones have been contained through restraint or delay on the part of the news media.

The question here, however, is what effect a temporary news moratorium has on the course of a major racial disturbance. Two cities — Newark and Detroit — this past summer offered contrasting experiences. The media in Detroit withheld reports of the initial incident in that city's riots, which occurred early Sunday morning, until mid-afternoon Sunday. In Newark, the media reported the outbreak of violence immediately.

One conclusion is clear. A news moratorium in the early stages cannot bring a halt to major racial disturbances. However, observers were not able to assess the precise impact of the news media's influence in immediate reporting or withholding of news on either the continuation or the intensity of the violence. It simply was not possible to isolate and measure the influence of the news media.

Some lessons may be learned from the Detroit moratorium. There is reason to believe that, given the fact that the day following the initial night of violence was Sunday, a day of normal populace idleness, the moratorium by the media was a factor in the maintenance of relative calm during that day. This was not the case during subsequent days of rioting. It is fair to conclude that the voluntary restraint of Detroit broadcasters Sunday helped to prevent the city from experiencing continuous disorders throughout the day.

There is clear evidence, and not from the Detroit moratorium alone, that this kind of voluntary restraint in the early stages, when there is some doubt as to the extent of the violence, can be of benefit to the community, and certainly does no harm. By Sunday evening residents of the Detroit area knew they were faced with a major crisis. The fact that they did not know this upon awakening Sunday did no harm, and may have been a factor in preventing a more immediately intense situation. Furthermore, the delay must have given news managers an opportunity to make careful judgments which led to the generally praiseworthy coverage of the subsequent events.

First reports

Once the news manager realizes his community is confronted with a major racial disturbance which cannot be ignored, he must determine how to report it responsibly. The broadcaster must decide whether to interrupt scheduled programming. He must decide whether to go live or with film or tape. He must determine how much of his scheduled newscast to devote to the incident. Most importantly, he must decide on the appropriate tone and contents of his newscasts. The editor must determine page and position for the story. He must worry about appropriate headline size. He must determine how many columns the incident deserves. And most importantly, he also must make careful judgments about tone and contents.

In all four cities last summer neither broadcasters nor editors rushed to overplay initial reports of the incidents. First day accounts on the air and in news columns in the four cities indicated little desire for cut-throat competition to get a more sensational angle. Indeed, the Buffalo newspapers seemed to have strained to play down the first night's outbreaks. Editors and news directors alike seemed well aware that the dynamite at their doorstep was not child's play.

In passing, it should be noted, however, that a similar attitude was not always in evidence in wire stories accounts from these cities and from many others which experienced disorders last summer; nor was such restraint apparent when editors and broadcasters were reporting on events in cities other than their own. For example, there were several banner headlines around the nation about a race riot near the White House in Washington, while, in fact, this was quite a minor outbreak of rock tossing and a few store windows broken by a crowd of youths well contained and quickly subdued by po-

lice with no danger of an approach to the Executive mansion.

Perhaps the greatest test to news managers during domestic disturbances is the handling of rumors. These are the most incendiary ingredients of racial tension. The media have the power to either kill or give credence to a rumor.

Detroit, Newark, Buffalo, and Houston had their share of rumors during the disturbances. For the most part the media in all the cities managed to keep unverified reports off the air and out of news columns. This is in distinct contrast to media performance just three or four years ago when rumors often were the occasion for news bulletins or provided the most appetizing sidebars.

Press accommodations

Essential to any responsible and accurate treatment of civil disturbances by the news media is reasonable opportunity for newsmen to cover the event. Officials simply cannot sit back and condemn the news media, when they have done much to thwart legitimate journalistic endeavor — or very little to assist it. Again, Detroit and Newark offered contrasting experiences.

In Newark, newsmen not unfrequently had cause to wonder who were more hostile — the rioters or the law enforcement officials. Complaints by the press ranged from outright attack by the police and National Guardsmen to indifference to the newsmen's needs in covering the disturbances. Several instances of newsmen being barred from command areas or police stations were hardly to be expected from officials who presumably would welcome the opportunity to let the public know of their efforts to restore law and order. Considering newsmen's difficulty in merely gaining a position to cover the disturbances, it is not surprising that the city and state apparently had no plans to assist the news media in getting prompt and accurate accounts to the public.

In Detroit, on the other hand, a prior conceived plan for handling the news media in the event of civil disaster went quickly and efficiently into operation. There were numerous examples of officials taking extra measures to assist newsmen in covering various aspects of the disorders.

Racial war?

The one area in which the news media was most vulnerable to criticism was the perspective in covering the disturbances as if they were war correspondents attached to a conquering army. Again, there were varying degrees of this attitude in the four

cities. And again, it was in Detroit that the media escaped the most criticism. It is interesting that although the violence was most severe in Detroit, newsmen there tended less to view the whole black community as a massive segment of the city in rebellion. A review of the Newark coverage generally would give the impression that it was simply a battle of "good guys" in blues and fatigues against hordes of black snipers, bombers, and looters. Indeed, the most journalistically enterprising probe into what really happened in the black ghetto during the riot was done not by any media in Newark or New York, but by a newspaper in Washington. Negroes fared little better at the hands of the Houston media. In Buffalo there was some effort to depict Negroes as other than a massive lawless element.

Recommendations

It is perhaps hazardous to venture advice on the basis of the limited observations above. But with the knowledge that the challenge of civil disorders will continue, some comments seem in order. Primary among these is that the best guarantee for the most responsible handling of disorders by the news media should and must be the utilization by editors and newsmen of the soundest judgment. Each news medium ought to designate specific manpower and plan in advance for handling these situations. Moreover, each news manager ought to see that his personnel receive as much special training as possible in advance.

Secondly, the news media in every city should demand from city officials that advance procedures be spelled out for law enforcement and other officials on working with the press in times of civil disorder. The media should know who will be responsible in times of crises and how this responsibility will be carried out.

Finally, the news media must heed the words of one editor who commented that "it is a lot different when the war is in your own backyard." If this nation is to veer from a course toward increasing racial polarization, the media will have to view racial disorders as much more than a Memorial Day casualty toll. The phrase, "the white press," must cease to come so easily to the lips of the Negroes. The challenge to the news media is whether they can do more than chronicle the fears and discomforts of whites caused by Negroes. The media should attempt to convey to both black and white the underlying causes of the dilemma and what must be done to resolve it.

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What the black press said last summer

By BERNARD ROSHCO

A primer of Negro reactions to urban riots can be found in the Negro press. Last July and August, the pages of Negro papers across the country offered venturesome white readers a chance to look at the racial crisis from a black perspective.

Most major cities have at least one paper that serves the local Negro community. *Time* magazine (July 28, 1967) has noted there are 171 such papers, almost all of them weeklies or semi-weeklies. Two are dailies—the Atlanta *Daily World*, with a circulation of 30,100, and the Chicago *Defender*, with a daily (Monday through Thursday) circulation of 29,714 and a Saturday (weekend) edition whose circulation is 34,251.

The largest of the weeklies is New York's *Amsterdam News* (circulation 72,399). Among the other leaders are the Pittsburgh *Courier* (59,282), the Detroit *Michigan Chronicle* (48,339), the Los Angeles *Sentinel* (39,811), the Baltimore *Afro-American* (34,050), and the Cleveland *Call and Post* (31,402).

The Negro press, which dates back to the abolitionist *Freedom's Journal*, founded in New York City in 1827, is now caught in a period of contradictory change. Despite the increase in the Negro urban population, some of the largest papers have lost circulation. As the middle-class Negroes who were once the backbone of their readership have gradually escaped from the older ghettos, many have given up these papers along with other memories they preferred to forget. Even while circulation has shrunk, however, some of the same papers have increased their advertising revenue, benefiting from the white flight to

the suburbs and the growth of Negro purchasing power.

In their news columns, the Negro papers still concentrate on the Negro-angled stories the general press usually ignores. Many will give tabloid treatment to local sensations involving Negroes, such as a murder or a love triangle. Another heavily played subject is run-ins with the police. The Negro papers do not insist the law is always wrong, but if a Negro has a complaint about his treatment at the hands of the police, the local Negro paper is far more likely to give him space than the daily general paper.

Negro achievements remain a staple of the Negro press, whether it means reporting another "first" in cracking white barriers or just a social note. Political stories play up Negro office-holders, all the way from local officials to Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall. The increasing entrance of Negro candidates into political races at every governmental level gets substantial space.

The explosion of news directly related to the drive for civic equality and economic improvement has produced a paradox in news coverage by Negro papers. As local organizations linked to the "war on poverty" have burgeoned, they have provided a field day for local Negro reporting. The activities of community and city-wide organizations, clashes over policy, operations, and control at the local level, and campaigns to recruit participants are all grist for the Negro papers.

On the other hand, the truly big racial stories have grown beyond their scope for a variety of reasons. They are caught in the time-lag of the weekly press. Their best personnel increasingly are lured to brighter opportunities. They lack the financial resources to chase distant stories on their own or to buy top-flight coverage from news services. They are outgunned by the immediacy of television and the breadth of national magazines. As a result, now that the big race stories are everybody's story, the Negro papers are usually out last with the least.

Civil rights was once a lonely beat the Negro press had all to itself. When A. Philip Randolph, head of the sleeping car porter's union, decided to organize a Negro march to the capital in 1941, the plan was publicized almost exclusively in the

Negro press. The proposal was finally shelved in exchange for President Roosevelt's executive order outlining the first federal program of fair employment practices. Rightly, the Negro press could claim a significant role in this breakthrough.

Mr. Randolph revived his idea in 1963. This time, the proposal received coverage in all media. When it was actually carried out, the world watched on television or listened to radio as the voice of Martin Luther King rang out from the steps of the Lincoln Memorial. What more could the Negro press possibly contribute in specialized coverage?

The problem in coverage posed by riots in distant cities is illustrated by the *Amsterdam News*, the country's largest Negro weekly. The Newark story broke just across the river, and the *Amsterdam News* covered the aftermath with descriptive and interpretive stories. Reporter George Barner wrote an eyewitness account of looting and quoted some who rioted and some who didn't, but sympathized. His story had exceptional immediacy.

The *Amsterdam News* did not get to Detroit, however, and its readers were told of that event only by indirection. For its July 29 issue, which went to bed during the Detroit riot, the *Amsterdam News* headlined the front page with the "plea for sanity" issued by Martin Luther King, A. Philip Randolph, Roy Wilkins of the NAACP, and Whitney M. Young, Jr. of the Urban League. No Detroit coverage appeared in the following week's issue, August 5. Instead, the paper concentrated on the local situation. The front page was headlined, "Harlem Works to 'Keep it Cool.'" Another front-page story was headlined, "The People Tell How They Would 'Cool the Streets.'"

What the Negro papers provided that was significant and exclusive was not news but comment.

They were fulfilling their historic function of putting on the record what the other media were printing in far less detail or not saying at all. Editorials, columns, and letters to the editor explained why Negroes thought the cities were exploding. This material also provided the essential element missing from the commentary printed in the daily press — an explicitly Negro interpretation of what the white politicians were saying and doing.

Of course, the nationally known Negro leaders were widely quoted by all the media when they offered their comments. However, because such spokesmen as Wilkins, Young, and Bayard Rustin (executive director of the A. Philip Randolph Institute) write as syndicated columnists for Negro papers, the fullest publication of their analyses and prescriptions appeared in the Negro press.

Some of the most illuminating commentary of all appeared among the letters to the editor. They offered something almost impossible to find elsewhere — the sentiments and reactions of Negro citizens who are not necessarily "leaders" or activists, but have something to get off their chests. Ironic, impassioned, often unexpectedly stoic, they were the usually unheard voices of "solid" Negro citizens.

The August 12 issue of the Baltimore *Afro-American* carried a letter from C. L. Warnock of Savannah, Georgia, that presented the case against Negro self-destructiveness more succinctly than it may have appeared anywhere else:

No one any longer questions that we have been short-changed, but is it wise to tear down the house in which we are living?

Collectively we may be Samson, but there is no point in coming to Samson's end.

Soul brothers, in the name of common sense, let's cool it.

The Negro press spent the summer trying to cool it. The Chicago *Defender* ran a "Keep a Cool Summer" contest. Editorial opposition to violence, riots, and the Stokely Carmichael-H. Rap Brown brand of militancy was seemingly unanimous.

These cool-it efforts also revealed, however, the stresses created for the older leadership by the

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young militants who were running away with the action. "Militancy" was no longer a dirty word and sometimes "responsibility" was.

In mid-August, Martin Luther King was quoted as declaring:

I am always a little disturbed when I hear myself described as "a responsible Negro leader" because all too often that means a black man who will tell the white power structure just what they want to hear, instead of the truth.

In its September 2 issue, the Baltimore *Afro-American* took note of a letter from H. Rap Brown it had published the previous week. In it, Brown had castigated the Negro press for lack of militancy. The paper replied editorially:

We think we are militant, and we love and feel kinship with other militants . . . We see a very clear distinction between constructive militancy and destructive stupidity.

In our view H. Rap Brown has set out on a perilous journey upon which we shall not embark, thank you.

If the Negro establishment found it useful to appropriate the word "militancy" from the activists, they also offered some wry twists on stock phrases used by whites. White conservatives may have thought "no-win" belonged to foreign affairs, but the Chicago *Defender* had a comment on "the nation's much vaunted 'War on Poverty'" that noted:

... we seem to have adopted a no-win attitude which heaps pain, frustration and despair upon a large segment of the population.

A letter to the Baltimore *Afro-American* described "the phony war on poverty." An editorial in the Los Angeles *Sentinel* spoke of the "credibility gap between the [Negro] grassroots and [white] local government."

Editorials, columns, and letters repeatedly demonstrated how differently the same words and

acts are interpreted by white and black sensibilities. What is even-handed moderation to the former may seem heavy-handed hypocrisy to the latter. In its August 18 edition, the Chicago *Defender* carried this letter:

Everyone in this country, including the President, knows exactly why there are riots.

Our President is a smart man, but unfortunately he likes Commissions. He thinks that when he appoints a Commission it sounds impressive even if it doesn't come up with anything worthwhile.

I certainly hope this new commission of his won't come up with 27 volumes.

American people, as a whole, don't read and unless it's in *Reader's Digest* they will never know what's in it.

Kerner is the chairman and we in Illinois know what to expect after Weston and the Open Occupancy Bill.

President Johnson went on television to ask for law and order. He spoke for 10 minutes and never mentioned justice. There has never been any justice for the Negro.

It has always been all right to kill a Negro in this country.

He spent 10 minutes threatening the disorderly Negroes and then his voice became somber and he asked us to pray. When our ancestors were threatened and killed they were asked to pray, also.

Now there's nothing wrong with prayer, you just can't eat it or wear it and it doesn't pay the rent or punch a time card that you don't have.

If you get on your knees and pray like LBJ told you to, it's okay to bend your head, but don't close your eyes, because the rats don't know it's Sunday or that you are praying.

We Shall Overcome
Harriet F. Davis, R.N.

The essence of these comments, whether by editorial-writers, letter-writers, or columnists can be simply summarized: a double standard, based on race, prevails in American life. The same words are spoken to all, but one standard of action is applied to whites and another to Negroes. In an August 5 editorial entitled "A Bill of Particulars," the Baltimore *Afro-American* cited examples. They included the alleged willingness to subsidize everyone but the poor, the failure to implement

laws for desegregating schools and housing, the feeling that the draft law is loaded against young Negroes, the refusal of juries to convict white Southerners accused of attacking civil-rights workers and beating Negro children attempting to enroll in a white school, Congressional defeat of the rat-control bill coupled with hasty adoption of an anti-riot measure, the vituperative attacks on Martin Luther King for his opposition to the Viet Nam war, the expulsion of Adam Clayton Powell coupled with the relatively mild punishment of Thomas Dodd, the quick stripping of Muhammed Ali's heavyweight crown, and more.

In its issue of September 15, the Augusta, Georgia, *Weekly Review* published an editorial making the following comparison:

In Harleyville, South Carolina, two weeks ago, sixteen Negroes attended a high school football game . . . After the game the Negroes were attacked by one hundred and fifty Caucasians in the parking lot . . .

What has publicly been said by those who represent South Carolina in opposition to this kind of conduct? Where are the critics of the rioters of Newark and Detroit?

Read the Negro press and you suddenly recognize a fact that is taken for granted: the daily press is white. Papers edited under the dominance of the Southern mystique have always known this. Most other papers are edited from a viewpoint that is white just as unconsciously as it is masculine.

The only surprising aspect of this condition is that it is apparently not more widely recognized. In a white America, the basic perspective of the press would naturally be white, just as it would be American. However, an American perspective should include at least a fuller sense of the views held by black Americans.

As reading the Negro press demonstrates, there is a specifically Negro side to the race-and-riot story, and it does not reach most white Americans. The media's failure to transmit the message is indicated by that perfect expression of white perplexity: What does the Negro want?

For the daily press to make the black community more understandable to the white community, it ought to acquire a broader viewpoint than is possessed by most politicians, let alone the average citizen. Some sense of the required perspective is

offered by the American anthropologist, Hortense Powdermaker, who foresaw the present crisis a quarter-century ago. In 1943, Miss Powdermaker published an article in the *American Journal of Sociology* called "The Channeling of Negro Aggression by the Cultural Process." She wrote:

The Negro's goals for success are thus becoming increasingly the same as those of the white person; and these goals are primarily in the economic field, although those in other fields, such as art and athletics, are not to be minimized either. The securing of these goals is in this world rather than in a future one. They are attained through the competition and aggressive struggle so characteristic of our culture rather than through meekness and subservience. The compensations available to the loyal slave and the humble, unaggressive, free Negro no longer exist or, at least, are steadily diminishing. The white man can no longer offer security in return for devotion, because he himself no longer has security. . . . When the cultural process takes away rewards for a certain type of behavior, dissatisfaction with that behavior appears and there is a gradual change to another form which is more likely to bring new compensations. Obviously, one can expect, and one finds, a growing restlessness and uncertainty which occur in any transition period, when old goals have been lost. The new goals are the standard American ones. But the means for attaining these goals are not yet as available to the Negro as they are to the white. Economic and social discriminations still exist. Unless some other form of adaptation takes place and unless discriminations are lessened, we may expect a trend toward greater overt aggression.

A newspaper is neither a political pamphlet nor a sociological journal. Just as there is no easily applied social salve for preventing riots or curing ghetto conditions, there is also no magic prescription for press performance in the present racial crisis. The best that the press can do is what it's supposed to do — recognize the existence of a story and cover it. There are people out there with something on their minds. They have certain attitudes and act in particular ways for complicated reasons. What they think is important because it explains what they do.

Detroit: when scholars joined journalists

A few days after the rioting in Detroit ended, two predictable things happened. News organizations sent reporters into the streets to gather opinions on the causes of what happened. And a group of scholars at a local university got a six-figure grant for a year-long social and psychological inquiry.

The news stories were the typical compilations of intuition, speculation, and mood-setting quotes. The scholarly study will be a more scientific assessment, but by the time it is ready, the event will be well in the past. A soundly produced study of the relationships between rioting and Negro discontent in Watts, published by the University of California at Los Angeles last June, nearly two years after the riot, drew scant attention in newspapers.

Somewhere between these two extremes, there is room for a new kind of study, one that combines the precision of the scholar with the speed and efficiency of the journalist. The tools are available, and all that is needed is for newspapers to find a way to adapt them to their own pace. The *Detroit Free Press* did this in the weeks that followed the July riot.

The riot took place in the week of July 23-29. On Sunday, July 30, the editors of the *Free Press* decided to explore the possibility of working with social scientists at the University of Michigan to study in detail the Negro attitudes that underlay the weeks of violence. Three weeks later, on August 20, the newspaper devoted seventeen columns of space to the first installment of a report based on interviews with a probability sample of 437 Negroes living in the two principal riot areas.

The study bore out some old beliefs and also turned up a few surprises: education and income were not predictors of riot behavior; unemployment was. Persons born or raised in the North were three times as likely to riot as immigrants from the South. Most Negroes generally agreed with the pre-riot image of Detroit as progressive in race relations. This progress, by raising hopes, was, ironically, a contributing cause to the riot.

As journalism, the study was useful both for the new facts it turned up and for the empirical backing it gave to what was already believed. As scholarship, it is still being analyzed by faculty members at Michigan and Wayne State University. The impressive thing is that it does qualify as scholarship.

The first problem to be solved after the July 30 decision was to line up the appropriate academic help. A series of phone calls to the

Institute for Social Research at the University of Michigan led us to Dr. Nathan Caplan, a social psychologist, and Dr. John P. Robinson, specialist in attitude measurement, who agreed to act as consultants.

The budget was set at \$5,000. The Detroit Urban League agreed to act as sponsor of the survey, and the \$5,000 was quickly raised from local donors. Twenty-five school teachers were hired as interviewers. All were Negroes.

To get the riot participants to identify themselves, we used a generally phrased question somewhat similar to the one used in the UCLA survey of the Watts area. "Would you describe yourself," the question said, "as having been very active, somewhat active, or slightly active in the disturbance?" The interviewer's stance was intended to convey the attitude that some degree of riot activity would not necessarily be perceived as anti-social or abnormal behavior.

Twelve per cent of the respondents, enough to make valid comparisons, described themselves as participants.

On Saturday night, August 12, two moonlighting keypunch operators transcribed the last of the responses onto punched cards. On Sunday, an off-duty University of Michigan computer programmer took the stack of 1,311 cards — three for each of the 437 interviews — and used them to build a taped data file for the IBM 360/40. Then the machine produced our basic output: first, a straightforward tabulation of the responses and then a second pass to crosstabulate all of the variables against riot participation and test the relationship for statistical significance. This gave us more than 400 pages of output and provided solid information on what it is that makes rioters different.

Later, we tried more sophisticated analysis, introducing some controls. For example, we held age constant to see if the relationship of some of the variables to riot behavior remained. It did — indicating that the relationships were real and not simply a function of the youthful quality of the riot group.

The survey report appeared in the *Free Press* in three parts, August 20-22, and has been reproduced in a booklet distributed by the Detroit Urban League.

PHILIP MEYER

Philip Meyer, who directed the Free Press-Urban League survey, studied social science research methods at Harvard as a Nieman Fellow in 1966-67. He is a correspondent in the Washington bureau of Knight Newspapers.

The Apollo story: what the watchdogs missed

By JAMES A. SKARDON

Of the questions raised by the Apollo fire of January 27, 1967, one of the most important yet least discussed is whether the American press, print and electronic, performed its traditional "watchdog" role in covering the space program before the fire. Did the press demonstrate that it can monitor effectively such a powerful and virtually autonomous multi-billion-dollar governmental complex as the National Aeronautics and Space Administration?

The cost of putting a man on the moon has been estimated at \$22.7 billion, with billions more going into the Apollo Applications program if it proceeds according to NASA plans. The money, the risks, the national prestige, and the scope of scientific and military research involved add up to a public stake great enough to demand full and continuous information about NASA projects.

NASA is required by law to keep the public informed. Yet one of the revelations of the Apollo tragedy was that the public not only knew relatively little about NASA and the true state of Apollo before the fire, but much of what it did know was distorted.

The NASA-Apollo story can be viewed as a saga of intangibles. Pride, hero worship, the lure of adventure, joy and fear, all were elements in a drama that had been as much illusion as reality. At the center lay the phenomenon that has been

variously described as the "NASA myth of invincibility," or the "NASA success syndrome."

In a statement that was not without its ironies, James E. Webb, Administrator of NASA, was quoted in the July 2, 1967, *New York Times* as referring to the effects of the fire on NASA's public reputation as "the defacement of an idol." The story further quoted Webb as saying "NASA and the astronauts had been built up for a fall" and continued as follows:

He [Webb] tends to place much of the responsibility for this build-up on the press. Although he says that he tried to prevent it, he himself is widely known as a voluble, aggressive and effective salesman for the space program.

For the press, William Hines, science editor of *The Evening Star* of Washington—one of the handful of newsmen who have looked at NASA with a consistently critical eye—wrote in the April 24, 1967, issue of *The Nation* that "NASA, whose initials are jokingly said to stand for 'Never A Straight Answer,' had a reputation for looseness with the truth." He refers to Webb as "one of the capital's fastest talkers and most accomplished snow-job artists."

Hines also observed:

In these flack-ridden times it is perhaps not surprising that the taxpaying public should be hoodwinked, falsely propagandized, deliberately misled and, on occasion, even lied

to by its servants. It is deplorable, however, and dangerous in the bargain, that NASA has deluded itself into believing the reality of its own Image.

John Lear wrote in the March 4, 1967, *Saturday Review* that the few dissenters who opposed the Apollo project in the early days were:

... soon drowned by a ceaseless propaganda barrage from the National Aeronautics and Space Administration and from lobbyists for moonship-makers with fat advertising contracts to stimulate the receptiveness of communications media. ...

NASA finally established the impression in the minds of most people that the dangers had been exaggerated and that all reasonable precautions were being taken.

The question of the responsibility for the myth of "infallible NASA" is more than academic. The myth itself was undoubtedly useful in enabling the agency to get its appropriations. More important, by NASA's own indirect admission, the myth played its part in the Apollo tragedy itself. As Deputy Administrator Dr. Robert C. Seamans, Jr. (who announced his resignation on October 2, 1967) stated last February 25: "Continued alertness to the possibility of fire had become dulled by previous ground experience and six years of successful manned missions."

To put it another way, NASA and its contractors had come to believe their own clippings.

Both Hines and Lear seem to agree to an extent with Webb that the press was at least an accomplice in the creation of the myth. Hines writes of NASA in *The Nation*:

Its exploits are chanted off stage by a Greek chorus composed of Walter Cronkite, Frank McGee, Jules Bergman, and Paul Haney. Its personal experiences are chronicled and preserved for the ages in the full-color pages of LIFE.

Lear, in discussing the manner in which NASA

handled the release of the news of the fire, commented:

A notable period of time elapsed before any major detail of the tragedy was released, and then the story was funneled through reporters closely associated with the dead men. Being human, these commentators were deeply involved emotionally, and allowed themselves to become vehicles for a propaganda campaign to support the 1970 deadline as a memorial to the sacrificed heroes.

The Nation also implicates the press. An editorial in its May 29, 1967, issue says:

To a large extent the aerospace industry press, which was in the best position to know what was going on and to find fault when indicated, chose instead to cheer.

With such an example, it is not hard to understand the attitude of the broadcasters, who simply made an entertainment piece out of the moon project, on a par with soap operas and Westerns, but with more of a kick and at less expense. ... With some outstanding exceptions, the newspapers also fell short.

President Kennedy lit the fuse of the Apollo phase of the NASA image build-up when he called in 1961 for a man on the moon "before this decade is out." Newspapers in general boosted the venture with chamber of commerce fervor.

As billions poured into the space program, many of the original backers had second thoughts about the wisdom of an all-out effort—especially after Premier Khrushchev seemed to withdraw Russia from the moon race in October, 1963. But in the early days even *The New York Times*, which was later to oppose the "end of the decade" deadline, was solidly in the "moon" corner. On August 4, 1962, the *Times* commented editorially:

Many have doubts about the wisdom of spending \$2,000,000,000 a year on [Apollo] when our schools and other public institutions and services are in desperate need of funds. Certainly these needs should not and must not be neglected. But is it necessarily correct to argue their importance as conclusively excluding Apollo?

To forfeit exploration of the solar system to Russia ... would be an unthinkable sacrifice of scientific leadership, of prized reputation for achievement as a nation of vigor-

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ous initiative. In this context the project seems a more reasonable part of our national effort.

During the early years of the space program, the original Mercury astronauts became history's first full-fledged "heroes before the fact." They achieved star status. Months ahead of their flights into space their names had become household words. Their actual flights were covered as Roman spectacles. They became the personification of the NASA myth.

The show-business approach of the networks to the launchings and the accompanying ratings battles characterized the early phases of the space program. The print media also contributed their share toward turning the space shots into circuses. As many as 1,500 representatives of all media covered early manned launchings.

The Apollo fire brought reality with shocking suddenness. It destroyed the fairy-tale aspects of the space program, riddled the carefully contrived NASA success image, and exposed the performance of NASA, its prime contractor, and the press itself to public examination.

The accident brought into the open the half-concealed relationship between NASA and the press as it focused attention on four flawed aspects of the Apollo program. These were: (1) the circumstances surrounding the awarding of the Apollo contract to North American Aviation, estimated at the time of the award to have been worth from \$400 million to well over \$1 billion; (2) the performance of North American on the Apollo project; (3) the overall question of safety and defects in the space program; and (4) the background and occurrences of the fire itself.

Since the test that resulted in the death of astronauts Lieutenant Colonel Virgil I. Grissom, Lieutenant Colonel Edward H. White, and Navy Lieutenant Commander Roger B. Chaffee had been considered by both NASA and the press as "routine," there were no reporters or correspondents from any media on hand at Cape Kennedy when the fire broke out at 6:31 last January 27. The question of informing the public of the accident was thus left entirely to the institutional machinations of NASA. The agency reacted predictably. It not only shut down all lines of com-



Ratings race: promotion ad of March 25, 1965

munication, but, either by accident or design, issued statements that proved to be erroneous.

Although NASA knew within five minutes after the accident that all three astronauts were dead, the information was not released until two hours later. It was nearly midnight before UPI and AP received a NASA picture of two of the astronauts entering the capsule for the last time. No pictures of the capsule itself were released until the next day, a Saturday, and no reporters or photographers were allowed to see the capsule until Sunday. NASA claimed officially that no communication had been received from the astronauts after the fire had broken out and that the astronauts had remained in their couches.

The New York Times, the *Washington Star*, and UPI reported the next Tuesday, on the basis of interviews with engineers at Cape Kennedy, that there had been four cries of fire from the astronauts. The story also reported that two (it later proved to be one) of the astronauts were lying by the hatch, indicating that they had been trying to escape rather than dying almost instantly as had been implied in the original NASA statements. NASA had previously reversed itself and admitted that there had been a cry of fire. In subsequent statements, NASA acknowledged that instruments had indicated movements.

The NASA information implied there had never been any chance to save the astronauts—that any rescue effort would have been futile. The

fact of the matter was, as it later became known, that no effective rescue effort could have been mounted because there was no plan or means for such an effort.

NASA claimed that the withholding of facts and its issuance of misleading and wrong statements resulted from the lack of a plan for handling information in emergencies. As hard to believe as this may be, coming as it does from an agency with a public information staff of 300, there is undoubtedly some validity to the claim. What was important in the way the fire story was handled by NASA was that it had the effect of reinforcing past complaints about NASA's lack of candor.

Well before the Apollo fire there had been complaints about NASA information operations. NASA seemed to function well enough in routine matters—such as preparing and issuing press kits to reporters—but not so effectively when events took an anti-NASA turn. Hines has been quoted as saying: "I have found that while NASA has more information than a dog has fleas while all is going well, the experts tend to pull back for regrouping when things go wrong."

The most serious clash between the press and NASA before the Apollo fire resulted from the crisis in the Gemini VIII flight in March, 1966, when the capsule went out of control during docking maneuvers. NASA withheld the tapes of the communications with the astronauts during the crisis with the explanation that the voice levels would give a false impression of the crew's behavior. This led to speculation that NASA was trying to hide the fact that the astronauts had panicked. Later, when the tapes were released, they provided no evidence that the astronauts had not performed up to expectations.

Such examples of NASA's news management have been cited by journalists to illustrate the difficulties in covering the space program. They have been used to explain the failure to report earlier on disturbing situations that came to light after the accident.

Following the fire, Congressional questioning of NASA Administrator Webb revealed significant aspects of the awarding of Apollo to North American that had not been made public before. It had been generally believed the contract had



First crisis: the Gemini 8 flight, as displayed in a paper published near Cape Kennedy, 1966

gone to North American on the recommendation of a panel of 190 experts who, after long study, had found North American the most qualified.

Webb first told the Senate Space Committee that North American had indeed been the first choice. When pressed, however, he admitted that the panel had recommended the Martin Marietta Corporation, but that Webb and three administrators either had overruled the panel or suggested that it take another look at its findings. North American was named. Webb told Congress after the Apollo fire that North American got the ultimate award because of technical excellence and because its bid was lower.

When North American was awarded the contract in November, 1961, there was no indication in newspapers that the award had been made in an unusual manner. Apparently no reporter's nose for news twitched enough when the contract award came earlier than had been expected, when companies thought to have the inside track were bypassed, or when the switch in the award came so suddenly that someone high in NASA had even called to tell Martin it had won and then had to call back with a hasty retraction.

The Bobby Baker scandal of 1964 suggested another questionable aspect of the North Ameri-

can contract. The Baker investigation was touched off by a \$300,000 suit against the Serv-U Corporation, a vending concern in which Baker and his friend Fred B. Black, Jr., North American's highly paid Washington representative, were among the partners. The suit against the company, which was formed only a few months after the award of the Apollo contract to North American, had to do with the awarding of the vending services business at a North American plant to the Baker concern. Serv-U was doing about \$2.5 million a year in North American installations when its contract was canceled following the Baker investigation.

The Apollo fire and the resulting Congressional inquiry tied the Baker case more closely to the Apollo contract. *Electronic News* (May 15, 1967) pointed out that the Serv-U Corporation was partly financed by a note from an Oklahoma City bank of which James Webb had once been a director and in which the late Senator Robert Kerr, with whom Bobby Baker was closely associated, had heavy ownership. Kerr was chairman of the Senate Space Committee at the time.

As *The New York Times* made the point on April 17, 1967:

Every defense contractor has friends in high places and there has been no suggestion that these particular relationships influenced the choice of North American. But a full investigation of the Apollo project from contract award to the present seems called for in order to insure that so avoidable an accident [the fire] does not happen again.

The *Times*'s comment was made more than five years after Bobby Baker's Serv-U moved into the North American plants and three years after the Baker investigation. The same belated approach has been characteristic of the rest of the coverage of the North American contract. No exhaustive investigation of the circumstances surrounding the award has ever been published.

Having selected North American on the basis of its "technical excellence" and "great management capabilities"—points that were wholeheartedly seconded by the industry press, the business press, and the general press—NASA up to the time of the Apollo fire investigation was not on

public record in any obvious way as having been anything but pleased with North American.

The story that came out during the Congressional hearings on the accident was far different. It centered on what has become known as the "Phillips Report," a collection of notes and memoranda prepared late in 1965 by Major General Samuel C. Phillips, Apollo Program Director. The report was highly critical of the management and workmanship of North American on the Apollo project. Ironically, a House Science and Astronautics Committee report referred to in a *Times* story at about the time the Phillips Report was being prepared (November 15, 1965) described the Apollo program as "a vital and well-managed effort that is on schedule."

When asked about the existence of the Phillips Report by the Senate Space Committee, NASA spokesmen, including Webb, replied to the effect that, if it existed, they knew nothing about it. Eventually, Webb offered to discuss the Phillips Report in a closed session of the House Space Subcommittee on NASA Oversight and made a similar offer to the Senate Space Committee. His belated offers were refused.

Major General Phillips admitted in testimony that he had considered taking part of the Apollo contract away from North American and Dr. Seamans said that North American did not always show "sufficient dedication to the job." Excerpts from the Phillips Report were finally made public by Representative William F. Ryan of New York, who presumably obtained them on his own.

There is some indication that press inquiries about the Phillips Report brought the question of its existence to the attention of the Senate Space Committee, but apparently no reporter was aware of the report until after the fire, and certainly no mention of the serious nature of its findings was ever made in either the industry or the general press. Had the conclusions of the Phillips Report reached the public, a much different impression of the progress and status of the Apollo program would have existed before the fire.

(This is the first part of a two-part study of NASA and the press. The second part will appear in the winter issue.)

The Freedom of Information Act — disappointment and hope

By ROBERT O. BLANCHARD

Freedom of information crusaders hailed July 4, 1966, as a day of triumph. On that chosen date, President Johnson signed into law S. 1160, the so-called "Freedom of Information Act," now popularly known as the Federal Public Records Law.

Members of the American Society of Newspaper Editors, for example, received an analysis of the law in their *Bulletin* under the heading, "'Twas a Sparkling Fourth for FOI Crusaders." The report compared the President's bill-signing statement to libertarian (even seditious) statements of Patrick Henry and James Madison. The spirit of the occasion moved *The Arizona Republic* to offer a rare interpretation of contemporary politics: in signing the bill President Johnson "proved he is not one of those who believe in news management."

The President, in reality, did not quite live up to this triumphant moment. The President news-managed the release of his strong freedom-of-information statement, which was recalled from reporters minutes after distribution and replaced by a toned-down version. The later version ap-

peared eleven months later as a guide to agencies in the Attorney General's memorandum on the law.

There was further confusion when a second FOI law was quietly enacted in June, 1967. It made about a hundred changes in the original to conform to language of other provisions in Title 5 of the Administrative Procedure Act, of which the Public Records Law is a part. This nullified the legislation (and significance) of July 4, 1966.

There has been more serious confusion also in the months since. As FOI advocates have studied the provisions of the law more closely, they have found it ambiguous at best. One of the chief problems is the indeterminate character of the law's nine phrases describing exempt categories of information. Several of the phrases seem bound to encourage continued, perhaps more sophisticated, federal agency discretion in release of information. Ironically, the court-enforcement provision of the law adds to the possibilities of blockage.

In fact, eight of the exemptions violate the blueprint for a public records law laid down by such originators as Harold L. Cross. V. M. Newton, Jr., a founder of the FOI movement, calls the exemptions "nothing more than an open invitation to the federal bureaucrat to withhold legitimate information from the American people."

In great part, the ambiguity of the law stems from its mixed ancestry. Although press and bar are far apart on the question of free press and fair trial, in the case of the public records law they

Robert O. Blanchard, head of the communication department at American University, wrote "Watchdog in Decline" in the summer, 1966, issue, an article based in part, like this one, on his doctoral study of government information.

formed a twelve-year alliance. The bar's administrative reform movement, begun in the 1930's, culminated in the Administrative Procedure Act of 1946. Later, the bar joined the journalists' freedom-of-information crusade of the 1950's to work to amend the public information section of the act.

Both reform efforts revealed awareness that functions traditionally in the judicial and legislative branches had been emigrating behind executive walls through agency powers granted by Congress.

By different routes, the attention of the two professions met in concern over availability of information. The lawyers' primary goal was procedural regularity within agencies whose rules were having the effect of law. Some of this "law" combined prosecuting, legislative, and judicial functions. Lawyers soon recognized that keeping the public informed about agency organization, rules, and procedures was important. The result was the information section of the 1946 act. But less than a decade later, there was widespread disenchantment in the bar over this provision.

Meanwhile, the journalists' goal was establishment of rights of access. They found that common law on access to governmental information applied only to state and local agencies; statutory remedies were necessary for federal agencies. The need for new laws, as well as federal tightening under cold-war tensions, sparked the FOI crusade. Harold L. Cross, a lawyer and journalism professor, was primarily responsible for leading the movement to suggest statutory changes, especially the enactment of a general information act. Asked in 1950 by the ASNE to analyze all legal ramifications of FOI, Cross identified five major road-blocks.

Two of the major statutory blocks were 5 U.S.C. 22, the 178-year-old "Housekeeping Statute," interpreted by agencies as a traditional protection of their discretion, and Section 3 of the act of 1946. With the latter, the bar had intended to correct a defect in administrative law — a simple lack of public information concerning its substance and procedure. But, by twisting and stretching the exemption phrases, some agencies had turned Section 3 into an authority to withhold information. Other agencies ignored it. The

courts, failing to find specific statutes compelling disclosure, generally supported the agencies.

Cross said that only Congress could remedy wrong administrative interpretations:

Congress is the primary source of relief. The time is ripe for an end to ineffectual sputtering about executive refusals of access to official records and for Congress to begin exercising effectually its function to legislate freedom of information for itself, the public and the press.

Cross advocated that the chief control of disclosure policy be exercised by the legislative (not the executive) branch.

The political climate became amenable to this strategy when the first Democratic Congress in the Eisenhower Administration was elected in 1954. The new Congress was an eager and willing forum for the FOI movement.

Before they put their resources seriously behind a new public records statute, House and Senate FOI spokesmen first amended the ancient Housekeeping Statute. They also placed information provisions in such legislation as that creating the National Aeronautics and Space Administration. These and other statutory accomplishments of a three-year crusade were widely praised in the press.

Yet they have since disappointed, even embarrassed, many crusaders. The 1958 "Freedom of Information Law" (the amendment to the Housekeeping Statute) failed to move any agencies to provide new information availability. FOI spokesmen in Congress also admitted that some agencies continued to use the Housekeeping Statute, though amended, to justify secrecy. Similar disappointment has been experienced with NASA and other FOI provisions.

Congressional FOI spokesmen have been aware of the apparently built-in-limits to such legislation. In 1958, Representative John E. Moss told the California State Publishers Association that

... fighting for recognition of freedom of information ... is like stepping on a balloon. You stamp out excessive secrecy in one place and it pops up somewhere else ... We can pass laws and require rules and regulations honoring the people's right to know, but

unless there is a government-wide attitude opposing excessive secrecy, the laws can be twisted and ignored.

Recalcitrant bureaucrats have found comfort partly because of the statutes of Congress, which is either unable or unwilling to pass disclosure legislation without leaving room for secrecy exemption couched in ambiguous language. It has passed at least 170 statutes requiring secrecy and, of course, widely practices secrecy itself. Indeed, Congress is exempt from the Federal Public Records Law.

This side of the "Congressional dilemma," as Francis E. Rourke characterized it six years ago in his classic analysis, *Secrecy and Publicity*, can be seen in the Federal Public Records Law of 1967. The present administration has wasted no time in pointing to the ambiguities in the nine exemption phrases. Assistant Attorney General Frank M. Wozencraft, whose Office of Legal Counsel drafted the administrative "guidelines" for the law, appears to be making a genuine effort to insure its implementation. However, he left no doubt about the ambiguity in the statute. He told federal information officials this year: "The exemptions are very vague and ambiguous phrases which will have to be interpreted by the courts." He also said that the conclusion by a legal symposium in Washington was that "one thing is clear about the FOI act: the FOI act is not clear."

An Associated Press survey in July, 1967, found the law would have "little or no effect" on the information policies of thirty-seven agencies queried. Other journalistic investigations have yielded similar results.

Representative Donald Rumsfeld of Illinois, an original sponsor of the legislation and a member of the Foreign Operations and Government Information (Moss) subcommittee, reported that more than one federal agency was seeking to avoid the law's provisions by "considering a plan to conduct much of its business verbally" so there would be no records. He added: "Another agency is attempting to categorize everything under one or more of the law's nine exemptions so that virtually none of the information under its control will be available."

The exemption phrases are a major source of

Story in Publishers' Auxiliary, September 9, 1967:

FOI Ruling Is Against Disclosure

SAN JUAN, P.R.—The first court ruling involving the new Freedom of Information Act, handed down by the U.S. District Court for Puerto Rico here, has gone against disclosure.

An employer seeking to inspect witness statements obtained during a prehearing National Labor Relations Board investigation was denied access despite the FOI law.

The NLRB opposed production of the statements on the basis of two exemptions in the information act.

- One authorizes withholding of "investigatory files compiled for law enforcement purposes except to the extent available by law to a private party";

- While the other covers information given in confidence or under a privileged situation.

weakness in the Federal Public Records Law.

A former Moss Committee staff director, Samuel J. Archibald, points to "muddy" language in the exemption of trade, commercial, and financial information; to a "minor grace" in exemption of inter- and intra-agency memos and letters; and exemption of "internal personnel rules and practices." Two exemptions are duplications of the "muddy" exemption. Presidential privilege to order secret anything "in the interest of national defense or foreign policy" is engrossed in one exemption. "Investigatory files" are protected. Two exemptions prevent an "unwarranted" invasion of privacy and information covered by existing non-disclosure statutes. Total: nine.

Cross anticipated this possibility in his recommendations for a general public records law. He said that any new amendment should repeal all of the five exemption phrases in the 1946 act, not replace them with futile attempts to spell out what

government information should be protected from the public eye. Instead, he advocated *one* exemption: "except as otherwise provided by law." Along with this exemption was to be a declaration of the right of public records inspection and a court review of denials of inspection.

In Cross's plan, if the agencies wanted information kept secret they would have to find a specific statute permitting it. Not finding one, they were to approach Congress, hat in hand, with a request for a statutory exemption. Therefore, Cross believed *Congress*, not the agencies, would weigh the political, legal, administrative, and economic variables to be considered in any judgment withholding government information. The courts, with no ambiguous exemptions in the law, would not have to rule on discretion.

The Federal Public Records Law of 1967 fell short of Cross's strategy. Besides the fact that Congress was not up to the strategy, there are at least two other reasons for this failure, both of them due partly to the press-bar involvement in the legislation. An understanding of these reasons could contribute to effective political compensation for the legal weaknesses of the act.

First, the choice of amendment of the 1946 act as a vehicle for a Federal Public Records Law has invited some agencies to claim that the law does not apply to them. The act was designed to reform administrative law and was aimed at regulatory agencies. On this foundation, the FOI movement chose to build a public records statute that had to apply to all agencies. As a result, many non-rule-making agencies claimed that the law did not cover them. Other agencies argued that the section was not an information disclosure section, or that the section authorized *non*-disclosure.

As late as 1965 many agencies still claimed the information section did not apply to them — this, despite the legislative history and the language of the act, subsequent interpretations by the Attorney General's Office, and ten years of congressional speeches and hearings to the contrary. The Attorney General's memorandum stipulates that the new law applies to all agencies. It may continue to be ignored.

The most important set of circumstances contributing to the compromise of Cross's conception

of a true public records law was the decline of the FOI movement of the 1950's. This was followed, not surprisingly, by a decline of FOI activity in Congress. The result was compromise of FOI interests at crucial legislative points.

While the FOI forces in the 1950's were working on their limited legislative goals, American Bar Association spokesmen introduced several proposed amendments to the 1946 act. The disclosure section in these proposals was generally unsatisfactory to FOI spokesmen. In 1957, FOI leaders in the House introduced a proposed amendment, but it made no progress and was not billed in press releases as a public records law.

In 1960, a major FOI draft amendment was proposed. The author of this draft was Jacob Scher, also a journalism professor and a lawyer, who continued Cross's work and added considerable research of his own. Scher's draft met Cross's public records law requirements, except that he listed two additional exemptions — information protected by executive order for reasons of national defense and information "the disclosure of which would be a clearly unwarranted invasion of privacy."

Thus, at this point, there was an agency-discretion foothold in a proposed public records law. But there were more serious and vague exemptions to come. Six months before Scher's death in 1961, the House subcommittee reported it was turning over Scher's extensive work on a public information section for the 1946 act to the Senate Judiciary subcommittee. From then on, the amendment of Section 3 was in the lawyers' camp and a declining FOI movement had neither the political nor the legal resources to preserve the exemption limits.

The bar has been far more willing to accept exemptions than the press. Rourke explains:

... there are many reasons why lawyers on both sides of regulatory proceedings might prefer privacy — the need to carry on negotiations, to protect clients from adverse publicity, or to prevent premature publicity in cases in which this might be to a private party's economic advantage . . . All these factors might make a lawyer resist disclosure.

Various ABA-inspired Senate bills were intro-

duced in the early 1960's. In 1964, the Senate unanimously passed two of these bills; one was an amendment to the disclosure section of the 1946 act. Both bills died in the House, but both were revived in the 89th Congress. Not surprisingly, the proposed amendment contained *eight* exemptions, the new ones being added in the Senate after intense agency pressure. This bar-oriented Senate bill, S.1160, with an additional exemption (still strongly opposed by the agencies), passed the House in 1966 hardly touched by FOI hands.

In spite of such legislative setbacks, the passage of the bill against monolithic federal agency opposition was a demonstration of the political power of joint press-bar efforts. It is doubtful the bar could have amended the 1946 act without press support. Of all proposed amendments to the act only this one and one on attorneys' practice succeeded. The former enjoyed press-bar support and the latter was spared agency opposition.

Given the elements of weakness in the history of the law, how can the FOI movement affect the political and administrative environment to develop whatever potential strengths it contains?

The first step is to avoid the major weakness by avoiding dependence on court testing of the nine exemptions. The court enforcement provision was conceived as one half of Cross's "pincer" strategy to eliminate administrative discretion. The other half of the strategy, the single exemption, did not succeed. Given nine exemptions, some ambiguous, the enforcement provision seems to invite the courts to exercise their long-established sympathy for administrative discretion. Moreover, court action is not a good news-gathering tool, and success in court probably will not set a precedent since the law stipulates each case must be considered *de novo* on its merits.

Avoiding the law's legal weaknesses is half of the strategy. Making political use of the law is the other half. The key to this attack is to reaffirm the principle of specific congressional determination of agency disclosure policy.

But experience has also shown that Congress's function as a watchdog, its oversight powers, can be profoundly effective, especially when given incentive by outside interest groups. Press coop-

eration with congressional publicity techniques (hearings, publications, announcements, member speeches, committee prints, progress reports, questionnaires to agencies, staff investigations) enhanced the effectiveness of congressional oversight of information policies in the 1950's. As a result, Congress, not the courts, was the most successful recourse the press had to information abuses. When it has the incentive, Congress can extract more facts and information from agencies more quickly and efficiently than can the press. It can also enforce rules and laws within agencies more efficiently than the courts.

The information problems in Washington this decade are different from those of the 1950's. Assistant Attorney General Wozencraft shows attitudes consistent with the sophisticated administrative and information styles of post-Eisenhower administrations. He evidences a determination not to get the administration involved in an unnecessary *cause célèbre* over the law. In advising public information officers, he said the law's vagueness "poses a genuine problem of statesmanship work with the press and the public." Essentially, the major thrust of his manual leaves interpretation of the Federal Public Records Law to each agency, with strong advice to open their records. Thus, constant publicity pressure should be applied to each agency and to information abuses not covered by the law (which, for instance, is not a credibility-gap detector).

There is an additional suggestion in the past of the law — the potential of press-bar cooperation. FOI groups should join with bar representatives, particularly with the ABA, for political action. The press has an interest in administrative reform, not just because it is good for the bar, but because it can result in more open, reportable government.

The Federal Public Records Law probably represents the best that Congress can or will do in the way of statutory FOI reform. The legislative means recommended by Harold L. Cross for libertarian ends have apparently reached their limit. It is not enough. It is now more obvious than ever that revived and more intensive press-Congress surveillance of executive information policy is necessary.



Lambs to slaughter

Compare here what automobile makers say in safety manuals and in ads they direct at teenagers

By JEFFREY O'CONNELL

It has long been a tragic truism that the automobile inflicts its worst damage on the young. Traffic accidents are the number-one cause of death among youths and children. Forty-two per cent of all the 13- to 25-year-old youths in America who died in a recent ten-year span died as a result of traffic accidents.

As a corollary, the young not only suffer grievous damage from the automobile but inflict it. As long reflected in insurance rates, the young are incomparably our worst drivers. According to the Automotive Safety Foundation—an institution financed and controlled by the car makers—drivers under age 25 clearly cause a disproportionate share of traffic accidents. Drivers under the age of 25 constitute 19 per cent of the licensed drivers

and cause 30 per cent of the accidents. Two of every five teenage drivers are involved in traffic accidents yearly.

Obviously, with young people at the height of their physical powers (for example, they have the quickest reactions) the explanation for their dismal driving record rests in large measure on their attitude. Thus we find the Automotive Safety Foundation answering the question "What accounts for [youth's] poor driving record" by listing:

- Aggressive personality traits
- Unsound and immature judgment
- Lack of cooperative attitudes
- Willingness to take undue risks

To remedy such attitudes (as well as to improve driving skills) the car makers disseminate widely to young people pamphlets exhorting the teen-

ager to cultivate safe, responsible, courteous driving habits—pamphlets entitled “Good Driving Practices: Courtesy . . . Control, Common Sense” (Chrysler), “How to Earn the Key to Dad’s Car” (Ford), “RIGHT behind the wheel” (General Motors). Similarly, they enthusiastically endorse high school driver education to develop, according to the Automotive Safety Foundation, “the attitudes, skills and understanding required in safe . . . driving.” According to the foundation: “Today’s grim traffic accident statistics reflect hit-or-miss methods of preparing youth for good traffic citizenship.”

“Hit-or-miss” is right. At the same time that the car maker is disseminating these safe driving materials, he is publishing advertisements urging youngsters to hit everything—or everyone—in sight! These are glossy, glamorous ads designed to appeal to the young male car enthusiast in magazines such as *Road and Track*, *Hot Rod*, *Motor Trend*, and *Car and Driver*. (These magazines are tremendously popular with teenagers. Any store near a high school is usually stocked with them. In the public library nearest my home, they must be kept under lock and key and yet the librarians still complain that teenage boys manage to pilfer them, so great is their appeal.)

It is most instructive to test the car maker’s concern for safety and the fairness of his constant attempt to blame the traffic toll on the “nut behind the wheel” (a favorite Detroit phrase) by comparing quotations from his pamphlets distributed to teenagers and his advertisements aimed at the same group—keeping in mind this is a group whose frightful driving record is caused, according to the car maker, by their “aggressive personality traits and unsound and immature judgment.”

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GENERAL MOTORS

[A picture of a roaring lion]
HOW DOES YOUR DRIVING SOUND?

. . . We can identify [an immature driver] . . . without even looking—just by hearing the way he drives. A reckless or discourteous driver can be a quiet one, but usually isn’t. He tends to make harsh, distinctive noises that reveal his dangerous presence as the rattles, growls, hisses, and buzzes of other menaces. [RIGHT behind the wheel: Articles on Safe Driving from American Youth Magazine, General Motors, p. 24 (1960-61)]

. . . Hulking under the 2 + 2’s hood is our whacking great 4 BBL 421. Horsepower—338. Torque—459 lb.-ft. Blam! . . . For stab-and-steer men, there is a new 3-speed automatic you can lock in any gear. Turbo Hydra-Matic . . . Just straighten right leg, wind tight, move lever. Repeat. Make small noises in your throat. Atta boy tiger! . . . [The 2 + 2 is] just a friendly little . . . saber-toothed pussy cat . . . One of these at fast idle sounds like feeding time at the zoo. [Motor Trend, October 1964, p. 11]

Sometimes a big mouth pays off. The Corvair Monza Spyder’s tailpipe . . . makes a throaty growl that pleases people with a feeling for such things. . . . Like any machine that does its job well, the Corvair Spyder looks right . . . and sounds right. [Motor Trend Magazine, February 1964, p. 5]

Next to a loud and generously used horn, the favorite way for infantile motorists to sound off is with a noisy exhaust. To such drivers, the achievements of the automotive engineers in developing quiet engines represents no progress at all. They love the thrill of power and to them power means noise—lots of throbbing, roaring noise that helps them daydream of being . . . in control of the hottest thing on the road . . . And even during normal cruising, no opportunity must be lost for sudden bursts of speed that produce a gratifying roar. . . .

As one way of rating your own driving ability,

[A picture of an empty garage at night]

THERE’S A TIGER LOOSE IN THE STREETS

It’s late and your bedroom window is open. It’s so quiet you can hear the frogs croaking out by the crossroads a good quarter mile away.

After a while a big engine something rumbles by in the night. It checks for a moment at the lights, then swings out onto the highway.

Suddenly a rising moon overrides the rumble as a bunch of extra throats get kicked wide open and start vacuuming air by the cubic acre. The moan gets drowned out in its turn by a booming exhaust note

(Safe-driving publications)

check how quietly you drive. The fewer unnecessary noises you make, the sounder your driving.

Those who equate noise with ability are headed for that loudest and worst of all traffic sounds—the crash of metal against metal. [RIGHT behind the wheel, p. 25]

(Magazine advertisements)

that someone ought to bottle and sell as pure essence of car.

Three times the sound peaks, falls back, peaks again. The last shift into fourth, a throttling back to cruising speed, a dwindle rumble of thunder, and... gone... Have you tried one of our 421's? THE 421 MAKERS — PONTIAC [Motor Trend, June 1964, p. 15]

HANDS OFF THE GRAB BAR, CHARLIE, YOU'RE TEARING OUT THE DASH!

The faint shoosh of a seat being depressed. The metallic click of seat belts. A 12-volt starter rasps briefly, followed by a vast convulsion as things mechanical happen in a big way under the hood. The left front fender rises then falls back again as torque prematurely shows its hand. A rumbling boom as of distant thunder. Dust sets to swirling suddenly in the path of a pair of downward pointing exhaust pipes. Someone has just prodded one of our [Pontiac] 421's into fire-in-the-nostrils, show-me-a-road any-road life. . . . [Motor Trend, January 1964, p. 23]

[For infantile motorists] with an unmuffled exhaust normal driving is, of course unthinkable. The engine must be revved up at stops, not idled. Starts must resemble a successful missile launching [RIGHT behind the wheel, p. 25]

A HOWITZER WITH WINDSHIELD WIPERS THE NEW BUICK SKYLARK GRAN SPORT . . . The Skylark GS . . . is almost like having your own personal-type nuclear deterrent. We've just turned it loose on our dealers. (See the Buick dealers run.) [Motor Trend, March 1965, pp. 48-49]

SON OF GUN THE SKYLARK GRAN SPORT . . . Ever prodded a throttle with 445-ft. of torque

(Safe-driving publications)

AVOID DANGEROUS DRIVING GAMES

Just because you encounter friends along the way to school, don't yield to the impulse to start having a little fun — with automobiles as the game's equipment. Those who treat a car as a toy haven't outgrown playing with toys. Save your exuberance for occasions when "innocent fun" can really be innocent. Keep your competitive spirit for athletics and other school activities where you can gain the limelight for real ability instead of reckless clowning. [RIGHT behind the wheel, p. 14]

A WORD ABOUT THE NOTICEABLE NOVICE [A picture of a policeman motioning a car to the side of the road]

. . . The novice has certain . . . attributes that make him stand out. A screaming start from the curb as the novice "peels off" is a real attention-getter. In fact, it will earn him a special citation to appear in court in many localities. [The Best Drivers Make It Look Easy, General Motors, Unnumbered page, 1964]

(Magazine advertisements)

coiled tightly at the end of it?

Do that with one of these and you can start billing yourself as The Human Cannonball. . . .

. . . The slightly smaller caliber Skylark GS.

Something between a regular Skylark and the Loch Ness Monster. [Motor Trend, April 1965, inside back cover]

350-hp. CHEVELLE BY CHEVROLET, THE PERFECT SQUELCH That's a potent squelch to all those others who keep talking about lions, tigers, and such.

A 350 hp squelch goes into any '65 Chevelle you specify. It's that big blue-jowled 327-cubic inch V-8 of song and story, fortified with an extra helping of brute.

. . . Just run your imagination over what [all this performance] does for the welter-weight Chevelle. Not to mention the silencing effect on all those tigers and tamers.

But why rub it in? That's your privilege. Happy squealing. [Motor Trend, February 1965, p. 5]

[A picture of a speeding automobile]

The object in the foreground is a Pontiac 2 + 2. It's what you might call a sudden automobile. Meaning that if it had started accelerating when this sentence began you would now be feeling enormous pressure on your abdomen. [Motor Trend, January 1965, pp. 50-51]

. . . If [Chevelle] . . . doesn't do for your driving what red capes do for bulls, our name isn't Chev-

(Safe-driving publications)

The "pro" [driver] knows that anger makes any driver accident prone. A driver in a blind rage is irrational, clumsy and, most of all, unskilled! [The Best Drivers, unnumbered page]

(Magazine advertisements)

rolet Division of General Motors. [Motor Trend, June 1964, p. 3]

Nobody said a nice car can't play mean now and then. . . .

CHEVELLE! BY CHEV-ROLET [Motor Trend, June 1964, p. 3]

FORD

DRIVING SAFETY: IS IT HARDWARE—SKILL—OR A STATE OF MIND?

Driving has three sides. . . . There are the tangibles—what could be called the nuts-and-bolts. The hardware. These are the features that have been built into the car for greater safety. . . .

But there are even more important sides. These are the skill and state of mind of each driver. It is a matter of knowing or respecting the rules of the road, the rights of others, the capabilities of the car and following the basic rules of driving safety.

You see this state of mind reflected in the comments of the driving experts who have been interviewed for this publication. You see it at Ford Motor Company where there is no let up in the search for ways to increase traffic safety. . . .

We urge you to cultivate a safety state of mind. It is a matter of developing the skills of driving and of thinking safety—and turning your thought into positive action. [A Positive View of Good Driving Habits . . . With Expert Tips on Developing Your Personal Safety Program, Ford, Sunday Supplement, appearing in 25 newspapers, January 16, 1966.]

FOR THE SMOOTHEST BRUTE ON WHEELS, ADD ONE CUBIC INCH TO 427

Everybody knows our 427-solid lifters, headers, double-four-barrels and all. That's a strong engine and it comes on like Saturday night in Stanleyville.

Well, we've got a bigger one here—one cube bigger which works out to be 428 cubic inches or 7 Litres, which is its name. But there's a silk shirt over all these muscles. Hydraulic lifters. Single four-valve. 10.5 compression. . . . So now we've got a new kind of car: a brute—but very, very smooth brute. A 97-pound girl can herd this 7-Litre and never know it has 345 horses and 462 pounds-feet of torque—unless she gets mad and stamps her foot.

Then she'll know! . . .

[Car & Driver, February, 1966, inside back cover]

[A picture of a car blurred with speed]

THE VELVET BRUTE

This one is a paradox. Up front there's big muscle—427 cubic inches, two four-barrels, cross-bolted mains, 6,000 rmp and 11.1-to-1 compression—the portrait of Brute Force.

. . . Matter of fact, there just isn't anything else like this Velvet Brute around.

(Safe-driving publications)

Irvin J. Frey, of Reading, Pennsylvania, is an acknowledged expert [truck driver] in a field where only experts can hold jobs.

"I've noticed too many motorists who are nice, sweet guys at home turn into terrors when they get behind the wheel," says Frey. "There are several classifications. I call them Kamikazes, who wheel sport cars around as if they were in a road race. [A Positive View of Good Driving Habits, p. 7]

ARE YOU A DUB OR A CHAMP? . . .

An outstanding athlete is not a "grandstander." Do you . . . roar away from a parking place, or race to be the first away from a traffic light? . . .

. . . If you [answer yes] . . . you should change some of your behind-the-wheel habits and your ways of thinking about driving. [Deft Driving, pp. 13, 15]

CHRYSLER

Proper driving attitudes and habits, including the adhering to the rules of the road and driving with courtesy and consideration for others, are every driver's responsibility.

[Care for Your Car for Safe Driving, Chrysler Corp., Automotive Engineering Office, p. 1, March 1963]

We need a new approach to driving. . . . What we need is to build . . . respect. Respect for the power of the car, for the rules of the road, for other people . . . [The Real Fun of Driving!, Chrysler Motors Corp., p. 3 (1965)]

All of us simply have to work harder at making

(Magazine advertisements)

Try it—and if you still feel a red-hot performance car ought to ride like a dragster, even that needn't keep you out of a XL. Just run the tires up to 70 pounds and hang on. . . .

Test Drive Total Performance '65 Ford [Motor Trend, January 1965, p. 7]

CYCLONE GT
TOP SPINE TINGLER IN THE COMET LINE:
CYCLONE GT
CONVERTIBLE.

This one will start a glow in any red-blooded American driver. For get-away, there's a new 390 4-barrel V-8 with a high-lift cam. Quite a start. And console-mounted transmission. (The optional 4-speed manual is specially geared for blazing get-away.) . . .

THE BIG BEAUTIFUL PERFORMANCE CHAMPION
MERCURY, COMET GT
[Motor Trend, February 1966, back cover]

[A picture of a car turning on a racing strip]

ANIMAL TAMER
(Bring on the Mustangs, Wildcats, Impalas . . . We'll even squash a few Spysiders while were at it.) Dodge has made it a little harder to survive in the asphalt jungle. They just uncaged the Coronet. A hot new Dodge, at a new lower price . . . the new comer that's a real goer.

Your Dodge dealer is waiting for you. Build Coronet the way you want it; Street or Strip.

And then go tame a few tigers. [Motor Trend, November 1964, p. 121]

Beauty and the beast. That's a sleek Dodge Charger with . . . a deep

(Safe-driving publications)

everybody more safety minded. [The Real Fun of Driving, p. 3]

(Magazine advertisements)

breathing 426 Street Hemi growling under the hood . . . [C]omes on like Gen-ghis Khan. [Motor Trend, May 1966, p. 75]

Many more ads of the same kind can be found in the back issues of any teenage car magazine. Indeed, despite the furor over car safety and despite the assurance to the Congress by vice president John Bugas of Ford, speaking for the industry, that "whatever happened in the past, the industry is now wide-awake [on safety]," advertisements of precisely this kind can be found in *current* issues of teenage car magazines.

At this point, it might be instructive to examine briefly the approach of American Motors.

We [at American Motors] believe that the promotion of excessive standards of speed and horsepower, either through participation in racing events or through various forms of advertising is against the public interest.

We consider such promotion not merely inimical to motoring safety itself but also to the sound development of the motor car in all aspects of its full usefulness to the public. [Statement issued by American Motors Corporation, June 1962] The average motorist normally is quite a responsible person, and most young people are naturally skillful drivers. But we know that speed is attractive to youth . . . as well as to those who have become over-stimulated at a bar.

For the manufacturers themselves to invest competitive passenger-car racing with acceptance and status . . . and to promote their victories and the reason for them . . . would not only tend to authentic-

AMERICAN MOTORS
SHIFTS EMPHASIS
TO POWER AND LUXURY

An enthusiastic automobile executive paused the other day while praising a car equipped with a new six-cylinder engine. He leaned across his desk and declared: "That will go from nothing to 60 miles an hour in 13 seconds, and that's better than a lot of V-8's will do."

This tribute to the power of a more lively product did not come from a top official of the Ford Motor Company or the Chrysler Corporation, which have been emphasizing racing to help sell cars. It came, instead, from Roy Abernethy, president of the American Motors Corporation, proponent of the compact Rambler.

Mr. Abernethy's excitement about the new engine may seem out of character for a company that has met huge success by extolling the virtues of an economical car and attacking the "gas guzzling dinosaurs" produced by its competitors. But it underscores a significant

racing on the public thoroughfares—it would stimulate it through the glamorous identification of the thrill of power. [Speech by Roy Abernethy, then president, American Motors, before a gathering of advertising and sales executives at Adcraft Club of Detroit, January 18, 1963]

[A picture of speeding cars on a track . . . [To] . . . glamorize and advertise race track speed and wildly excessive horsepower to sell cars . . . is not in the public interest, and Rambler will have no part in it.

Reckless glorification of horsepower tempts teenagers to think high-speed driving is 'in'—and safety is 'out'.

It makes irresponsible drivers even more irresponsible.

It contributes to the mounting carnage on the highways all across the nation . . .

. . . We [at Rambler] spend millions on testing, millions more on safety advances.

But not one cent to glorify speed.

We welcome your comments, and invite you to join our crusade for safe motoring. [American Motors advertisement, appearing nationally in newspapers, week of June 1, 1964]

. . . To achieve [total involvement in the field of automotive safety] . . . we need a stronger exercise of leadership at every level. . . .

All of us [in the industry] must continue to try to see and to present the whole [traffic safety] picture. . . . We cannot afford to point the finger of blame at somebody else or wait

change taking place at American Motors.

The car-buying public has been shifting its taste toward more racy and expensive cars. Rising affluence has dampened its desire for economic basic transportation. This has damaged American Motors and is forcing the company to sharply alter its image and products.

"We want to move over and let people know we have these things," [Mr. Abernethy] said. "If that's what the people want, we'll give it to them." [The New York Times, September 7, 1964, p. 6.]

[A picture of a speeding Rambler on a race track]

RAMBLER AMERICAN SHOWS ITS NEW MUSCLE! OUTFRONS CORVAIR, DART, FALCON AT DAYTONA. RAMBLER WINS BIG! COMES IN 1, 2 IN CLASS VI ACCELERATION TEST—ONE OF 3 EVENTS IN 1966 PURE OIL PERFORMANCE TRIALS.

This is the car . . . with the newest, biggest, most powerful standard engine in its class—and it shows—out-running Corvair 500, Dodge Dart, Ford Falcon.

This is the car . . . that with automatic transmission, got a tremendous 24.483 miles-per-gallon in the Economy Test. (The only car that could do better, by a scant 0.5 mpg, had such a small engine that it took nearly 4 seconds longer than the American to accelerate from 25 to 70 mph.) [Advertisement appearing nationally, in newspapers, week of January 24, 1966]

for somebody else to lead.
The place where responsibility lies is easy to find.
Look in the mirror.

[Speech by Roy Abernethy,
Dealer Highway Safety
Meeting, Miami Beach,
January 17, 1966]

The result of this turnabout is a proud report by a Rambler dealer in *The Wall Street Journal*: "We're seeing younger people in here asking 'Where's that hot car?'" Other Rambler dealers want still more emphasis on speed and power. Says one California dealer, "Get the biggest engine you can, get on the track and blow up everything in sight."

Henry Ford has said that "the driver is the most important factor [in safety] because, if you drive safely, accidents won't happen."

What can be said about an industry that blames car accidents on unsafe driving and then spends large sums to encourage unsafe driving by the most unsafe drivers?

After I had submitted these ads in testimony before the Congress, Kenneth Ford, the executive editor of *Printer's Ink* (a trade magazine of the advertising industry) took exception in a special report in *Printer's Ink* to my comparing thus the car makers' message in safe driving pamphlets and teenage car ads. Said Ford:

All that sounds pretty devastating . . . [but] actually, it is out of context, willfully scurrilous, and downright vicious. . . . The pamphlets and the ads, as communications vehicles, have two totally different purposes. The first conveys hard information; the second appeals to a "feeling," rather than an actuality. To compare the two is somewhat akin to matching the words against the deeds of a politician.

Concerning Ford's first point, according to the car makers themselves, the crucial problem of young drivers is their "feeling" — namely (I cite the car makers again) teenagers' aggressive personality traits, lack of cooperative attitude, and willingness to take undue risks. Thus the pamphlets try to encourage the *right* attitude. All this makes doubly worse any ads that attempt to incite reckless feelings.

As to Ford's second point, perhaps it should not surprise us that, to an adman, "matching words . . . against . . . deeds" is to take words "out of context [and is] willfully scurrilous and downright vicious." To the rest of us, however, a man's words — a politician's or anyone else's — are still a good measure of what his deeds should be.

When the car makers were asked recently to comment on their practice of advertising aimed at the young that encourages unsafe driving, their replies were very revealing.

Said a spokesman for General Motors, "Our ads are by no means all in that [unsafe] vein. We've had quite a campaign on safe driving tips."

A check of the teenage car magazines reveals many stridently irresponsible GM ads for every one concentrating on safe driving tips. But according to GM, the company is justified in having car ads that encourage unsafe driving as long as they are not *all* in that vein!

When asked about the encouragement of unsafe driving in GM's teenage car ads, Gail Smith, the general director of advertising and merchandising for GM, stated: "Naturally in those [hot rod] magazines we use jargon and have an ad appeal which is directed to the young audience. We do not lay undue emphasis on performance but we do make some reference to the car's potential. And we have a safety theme in all our advertising."

But where is the safety theme in the GM ads already quoted?

Smith went on to say that he did not agree with all the GM teenage ads. "When you are with an agency and you write an ad, it is easy sometimes to get carried away," he said. GM, then, advertises in one place that driving a GM car is so dangerous that a driver cannot afford "a moment of inattention," but would have the public believe that GM cannot be expected to control its own advertising of the same cars to exclude unsafe messages.

In responding to questions on teenage ads, a spokesman for Chrysler said: "Chrysler does not feature speed or performance in advertising that is designed for teen age consumption. We do report in newspapers and car buff books our victories in sanctioned races but we make a special

point of telling the public that these racing cars are not available to them for purchase, that they are only especially equipped as modified for racing competition."

How, then can Chrysler explain this teenage car ad?

Plymouth Fury, Pace Car. This is the official pace car of the Indianapolis 500. You can buy one just like it . . . It is not a race car. But it has power to spare in its optional 4-bbl. Commando 426 cu.-in. V-8 engine. . . . Put yourself in a Sport Fury soon. We will see you at the checkered flag.

On being asked about its teenage car ads, a spokesman for the Ford Motor Company stated: "We have not been making any substantial changes in our basic advertising philosophy despite the recent safety furor."

Supposedly, according to one press report coming out of Detroit, "the auto industry has calmed down, at least for the moment, its advertising emphasis on hot engines, high horse power, and get-up-and-go cars." As one Chrysler Corporation public relations man explained, "I guess that it is true that some advertising writers get the feeling that Senator Ribicoff is looking over their shoulders as they write their copy." (Senator Abraham Ribicoff of Connecticut heads the Senate subcommittee that focused attention on many phases of the auto safety issue.) But not all advertising writers feel thus constrained — especially at Chrysler. Listen to this Chrysler ad in a teenage car magazine published at the same time as the Chrysler spokesman's remarks:

BOSS HOSS. Dodge Charger with a big, tough 426 . . . Hemi up front makes other steeds look staid. Both for show and go. Charger looks beautifully quick just standing still. And the optional Hemi V-8 supplies a kick to match, with 425 muscular horses. Not a pony or a kitten in the bunch. The hot setup? You bet.

The November, 1966, issue of *Hot Rod* has a GM ad for its Camaro that reads: "CAMARO . . . Its . . . excitement . . . a sporting hustler that's nothing but lean and forceful." In the same issue, Chrysler advertises its "SPRINT . . . the red-blooded American sports machine. And Ford ad-

vertises its "MERCURY CYCLONE . . . The Man's car for men who like their action big!"

Thus, although there has been some toning down of teenage car ads — and, it is true, some adding of safety talk to their texts — improvement is by no means guaranteed as to how long it will last.

In September, 1966, Will Scott, Ford's new director of safety, assured me in conversation that the critics of auto advertising had caused a turn-about in the auto industry's less responsible ads, emphasizing wildness and the like. But within a few days after that assurance from Scott, his own company, the Ford Motor Company, "unleashed" (Ford's word) its new car called the Cougar. At the first showing of the Cougar, it was unveiled "against a background of loud animal roars."

Even more recently Chrysler published this teenage car ad:

BANZAI-I-I*

[Picture of cars blurred with speed]

You've just heard the battlecry of the Belvedere GTX, Hemi-powered, that is 426 cubes, 425 Hp, and 490 lbs.-ft of torque — as sung by a 4-speed transmission. And what a commotion they make! Amplified by the Hemi's two big AFB-4 barrels.

But then similar war-whoops can be heard from the regular GTX. . . .

Listen, too, to this ad from Plymouth, published within the last few months:

ANNOUNCING THE WILD NEW BARRACUDAS!

These are the sporty new 'Cudas that generate the excitement of a European road race. . . .

These are the cars that live with quickness. . . .

If you want to go the full stormer route, you can order the optional stuff you need. All the way up to a booming 383 cu. in. V-8 which will be ready in plenty of time for Sebring. . . .

Interestingly enough, there is an indication that lawyers may soon be reading these advertisements aloud in court. In the summer of 1966, Philip

*The new Random House Dictionary describes a Banzai attack as "reckless or suicidal."

Schemel, age 21, of Springfield, Ohio, brought suit in the United States District Court for the Southern District of Indiana, alleging that he was temporarily paralyzed from the neck down when his car was struck by a Chevrolet Impala going 115 miles an hour. The complaint in Schemel's suit against General Motors for one million dollars read in part:

... Despite the fact that the defendant, General Motors Corporation, knew, or in the exercise of common care and caution should have known, that the public roads and highways in the United States of America were not designed for and were not suitable for automobiles to use them at speeds in excess of 100 miles per hour, that very few, if any, of the drivers operating automobiles on said roads and highways were capable of driving safely at speeds in excess of 100 miles per hour, that the laws of each of the United States of America contemplate maximum speeds of from 60 to 80 miles per hour, and that excessive speeds had killed thousands of drivers of automobiles sold by General Motors Corporation to the ordinary consumer as well as thousands of innocent bystanders, General Motors Corporation not only continued to design, manufacture, sell and distribute automobiles which had more power and which would travel much faster, but General Motors Corporation bragged about how high powered its automobiles were in mass media advertising which has encouraged many irresponsible persons, including [the defendant in this case] ... to drive at extremely high and dangerous speeds in excess of 100 miles per hour.

The complaint further contended that GM encouraged motorists to drive at excessive speeds by "naming its automobiles names which suggest high speeds such as 'Jetstar' and 'Rocket', all of which has been in wanton disregard for humanity and in sacrifice of the general public for the sole purpose of obtaining astronomical profits ..."

At the trial level, the complaint was dismissed for failure to state a cause of action. Said the trial judge:

As to Plaintiff's contention regarding the defendant's alleged method of advertising,

it is apparent that if it has the legal right to manufacture automobiles capable of attaining high speeds, it has the right to advertise its merchandise accordingly. Whatever else may be said about it, such advertising is at least truthful. As to the possible adverse effect of defendant's advertising on the driving habits of its customers, it seems to us that such a theory is altogether too speculative to support a legal cause of action.

The trial court's decision was upheld in July, 1967, by a 2-1 decision. It is interesting to note that several of the advertising examples referred to above were used by plaintiff's counsel in his brief filed in this case.

Quite apart from whether lawyers can prove that the wild names were a proximate cause of the resulting accident, surely the effect on a jury of the reading of such names and advertisements may vitally undercut the carmaker's defense in any such case or, in addition, in any products liability case, a contention that in manufacturing its product it was sufficiently concerned about the safety of that product. Such ads could have a particularly devastating effect when the carmakers defend — as they continually do in cases alleging faulty car design — that it was driver error that was the proximate cause of the accident.

The carmakers' irresponsible advertising illustrates their indifference to the havoc being wrought by cars. It illustrates why the carmakers must be subject to outside pressures from products liability suits as well as federal regulation of design, not to mention scrutiny in the public press which will force them to think about safety since they seem so incapable of paying proper respect to it on their own.

But in addition to indicating that outside pressure is needed to place safety in its proper perspective in the manufacture of cars, the kinds of ads quoted above pose a separate problem. The Congress and the Federal Trade Commission should begin as soon as possible to hold public hearings on auto advertising that deliberately calls for reckless driving by the young.

The carmaker has been gulling and killing the young long enough.

Litmus test

There is always a strong presumption among participants or opponents of anti-war demonstrations that news coverage reflects the political views of the newspaper or magazine concerned. Here is a quick, far-from-comprehensive test of coverage of the demonstration in Washington on the week end of October 21. Test-takers are invited to try, without research, to match the headlines and leads with the publications that printed them. All the excerpts are taken from news accounts, not editorials, columns, or labeled analysis. Hint: the crowd estimates are helpful. Answers appear on page 38.

1 Antiwar Demonstrators March on Pentagon; 2,500 Troops, Marshals Contain the Crowd

Antiwar demonstrators came, saw, but didn't conquer the Pentagon.

But it took 2,500 Army troops to prevent them from doing so. At one point the troops committed a cardinal military error — permitting themselves to be outflanked — and 30 demonstrators against the war in Vietnam fought their way into the Defense Department headquarters. They were quickly beaten back by soldiers stationed inside and by U.S. marshals.

2 Mass protest shakes capital

The backbone of the militant anti-Vietnam movement, more than 100,000 strong, confronted the armed might of the U.S. government in front of the Pentagon . . . and did not break ranks.

In the face of clubs, boots, bayonets, rifles and gas the demonstrators held the mall entrance to the Pentagon for 32 hours. More than 670 protesters were arrested. At least 50 were injured. No shots were fired.

3 GIs Repel Pentagon Charge; 50,000 Rally Against War; 133 Arrested; Brief Violence Marks Protest

More than 50,000 persons demonstrated here against the war in Vietnam in what started out as a peaceful, youthful rally but erupted into violence at the Pentagon late in the day.

A surging band of about 30 demonstrators rushed into the Pentagon, only to be thrown out by armed troops.

4 GUARDS REPULSE WAR PROTESTERS AT THE PENTAGON

6 Break Through Line Into Building — Mailer and Dellinger Are Arrested . . .

Thousands of demonstrators stormed the Pentagon today after a calm rally and march by some

50,000 persons opposed to the war in Vietnam.

The protestors twice breached the lines of deputy Federal marshals backed by soldiers armed with bayonet-tipped rifles. But they were quickly driven back by the rifle butts of the soldiers and the marshals' nightsticks.

5 The Banners of Dissent

The Pentagon is the most formidable redoubt in official Washington. . . . Against that physically and functionally immovable object . . . surged a self-proclaimed irresistible force of 35,000 ranting, chanting protesters who are immutably opposed to the U.S. commitment in Viet Nam.

6 37,000 IN ANTI-WAR RALLY

An estimated 37,000 persons showed up on the grounds of the Lincoln memorial here today to begin the first of two days of demonstrations against the war in Viet Nam.

7 MARCH ON THE PENTAGON

Not since the bonus marchers stormed down the Mall had there seemed such a clear and present danger to the Capital. All week long, the Pentagon brass pored over contingency plans and rules of engagement as they readied a massive show of nervousness. . . . The reason for the jittery saber-rattling was the approach of a 40,000-man army of widely assorted U.S. resistance groups descending on the Capital for a climactic weekend demonstration against the war in Vietnam.

8 Mob Storms Pentagon: 'Peaceniks' Carry Clubs, Red Flags

Thousands of youthful antiwar demonstrators today broke through security lines and stormed a door of the Pentagon, but were repelled by club swinging U.S. marshals and soldiers.

Answers

Chicago Tribune (Chicago Tribune Press Service)
The Washington Post (Staff Writer)
The New York Times (Special)
Time, Oct. 27
Newsweek, Oct. 30
Los Angeles Herald-Examiner (AP) Oct. 22
The Wall Street Journal (Staff Reporter), Oct. 23
National Guardian, New York, Oct. 28

WASHINGTON LETTER

What makes a newspaper nearly great?

This critique finds The Washington Post within a lunge of excellence, but faltering in things that should be easy

By BEN H. BAGDIKIAN

The leading paper in the capital, *The Washington Post*, is the most irritating in the country, at least for this reader. This is not because it's a bad paper. There is no other place in the United States where a reader can buy such a pair of high quality papers as the *Post* in the morning and its main competitor, *The Evening Star*, in the afternoon. The *Post*'s editorial page is one of the best in the country. Its news columns are far from dull. It supports a large and talented staff. Its president, Katharine Graham, is intelligent and strong; its editor, J. Russell Wiggins, is perceptive and practical; its managing editor, Benjamin Bradlee, is a quick-witted professional who knows how to handle talented men and women.

The *Post* is irritating because it comes within a lunge of greatness as a newspaper but it is not great. It is tantalizing because it has all the rare ingredients needed and lacks the easy things.

The word "great" is as hard to define for newspapers as it is for art. Whatever it is, it varies by time and place. The old New York *World* was a

great paper but would not be today; forty years later we need a different kind of daily. *Le Monde* is a great paper in Paris today but would not be in the United States because France and the United States have different social organization and need different kinds of papers. Whatever the qualities that go into newspaper greatness, each has a minimum required level and any weakness in one must be counterbalanced by unusual strength in other characteristics. For example, *The Times* of London in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century was a great paper weakened by too close an identification with the Establishment, but it achieved distinction because it was, nonetheless, authoritative and encyclopedic.

Some qualities of greatness in newspapers in the United States of the 1960's would seem to be:

1. Authority. What a paper reports must be accepted as precise, thorough, and balanced. Today this authority must extend to causes of events, to analysis of their evolution, and to a presentation of rational policies toward them.

2. Comprehensiveness. The reader of a great paper picks it up confident that in his hands lie all the important new developments he should know about in the world at that moment.

3. Art. Stock tables are authoritative and comprehensive but by themselves they are not distinctive except as an exercise in communications

With this article, Ben H. Bagdikian leaves Washington for a year in California with the Rand Corporation.

technology. The evidence of individual human style, insight, and intelligence varies among great papers — high in *Le Monde*, low but increasing in *The New York Times* — but it must be there.

4. Professionalism. Whatever the paper's own values and emotions, the reader should be confident that he gets the basic facts clear and unpoisoned.

5. A reliable sense of priority in the news. The events of the world should be arranged in the paper each day so that the serious reader can tell instantly what is more important and what is less. This is done by display and order of stories. This array is one of the most subtle but profound impacts of a daily paper. Even the reader not concerned with serious news subconsciously absorbs a set of values about what is important in the world by his daily exposure, almost subliminally, to the order of stories on Page One.

The weakness of the *Post* is in the last two, which happen to be the two most easily achieved. Too many *Post* news stories are flawed by policy. More serious is its deficient sense of priorities. In the *Post*, Page One and length of story give insufficient evidence of what is important. *The New York Times* and *The Wall Street Journal's* national news summary provide this instant notification. So does the *Baltimore Sun*, which also circulates in Washington and also must serve, as does the *Post*, a local audience that includes readers uninterested in politics. But a top story of the day may be found on page 18 of the *Post*, or the *Post* may run four paragraphs while other papers run a column.

The *Post's* main competitor, *The Evening Star*, does not have the manpower or dynamics of the *Post* but it is strong where the *Post* is weak. Its Page One and inside display are a reliable index of what's important. And while its institutional emotions on social and political events are at least as strong as the *Post's* (though very different), a minimum of these leak into its news stories. As a result, the *Star* is generally regarded as more reliable by members of Congress and most of the working press.

The *Star* is distinctive in another way. It has solved "the afternoon problem" better than any

other big-city paper in the United States. The curse of the afternoons is that most news is being created during the daylight hours when the paper is going to press and people are being exposed to radio and television. To make matters worse, the papers then must buck rush-hour traffic, which includes the commuter whom the paper is trying to beat to the front porch.

As a result most big-city afternoon papers are daily magazines written mostly the day before, with copy deadlines in mid-morning and carrying insufficient news. *The Evening Star* is more carefully and competently put together and carries more genuinely hard news than most big-city morning papers, which of course, have half the night to meditate and edit. Despite the extreme pressures, *The Evening Star* is better edited by far than is the morning *Post*.

The other Washington paper, the *Daily News*, is one of those pleasant publications a city with other competing papers can support. It is a Scripps-Howard afternoon tabloid with a minimum of the S-H cookie-cutter sameness. It's made for reading on buses, full of short items, some worthwhile columns (Starnes, Herling, and Biossat, for example), able to provide individualistic flourishes precisely because it isn't the big paper in town. It's a daily sideshow; the real action is elsewhere.

O. Roy Chalk, the man who runs the local bus company, has undertaken to start a new morning paper in town. It has made its first appearance as a weekly and then may graduate into daily operation. Chalk hints that he will appeal to the conservatives, by way of taking on the *Post*. It should be an interesting fight if it develops. But as long as the *Post* and the *Star* have a will to live, no new publisher can make it in town unless he is ready to play the long game — wait for success maybe ten years while building a solid base and losing a lot of money. In the past this formula has not seemed to inspire Mr. Chalk.

The *Post* remains a remarkable paper. National magazines have been noting it as a gold mine run by a woman. But it also deserves attention as a newspaper, albeit a tantalizing one.

A day picked at random last summer — Wed-



No consensus: Four leading papers for the morning of October 24 reveal wide disagreement on top news. Post and Sun overlap on only three stories.

nesday, July 19, 1967 — permitted some comparison of its allocation of space to news with the allocations of some other papers.

That day the *Post's* hard news measure was 120 columns. There are papers with comparable circulations with only 20 per cent of that. (In order to compare this with other papers and because each paper defines hard news its own way, I used my own standards, generally counting any breaking news, but not specialized material like financial or sports.)

That same day *The New York Times* had 88 comparable columns, the *Baltimore Sun* 64, the *Star* 71, and the *Daily News* 70 short tabloid columns. Adjusting these for variations in column and type size, and eliminating pictures and headlines, wordage of hard news came to this:

32 *Columbia Journalism Review*

<i>Post</i>	62,000
<i>Times</i>	59,000
<i>Sun</i>	37,000
<i>Star</i>	38,000
<i>Daily News</i>	21,000

I made another category of specialized news, excluding sports but including material like editorials, public affairs columns, financial, news analysis, and news features. The count for this category (in columns) was:

<i>Post</i>	52
<i>Times</i>	83
<i>Sun</i>	33
<i>Star</i>	67
<i>Daily News</i>	22

The remaining non-advertising matter was all "soft" sports, comics, non-news features, and an



Post and New York Times agreed on three stories, while Los Angeles Times and Post agreed on four. Only two stories were used by all four: Lock Haven murders and Johnson speech.

assortment of conventional journalistic junk. The *Post* and the *Star* are fairly free of junk, the *Star* most noticeably so, since other afternoon papers are so often filled with mindless prepackaged "anytime" pap.

Thus, the *Post* printed more hard news than any other paper circulated in Washington, including the *Times*. In total wordage for both hard news and news-oriented commentary and features it was second only to the *Times*, and the *Times*'s dominance in this combined material comes from its massive financial columns.

The *Post* uses a comprehensive news net. The 1967 *Editor & Publisher Year Book* lists it as using eleven news services. Nor is there any serious lack of manpower or coverage in evidence in the content of the *Post*.

Yet there appear continual eccentricities in its use of stories. On the sample day there were eight national stories given Page One play by other morning papers circulated in the capital. The *Post* had only four of them on Page One (President urges 6-per-cent surtax, Britain will pull forces out of Asia, railroad strike mediators appointed, and ancient Minoan city discovered).

Four others considered priority stories by the *Times*, *Sun*, and *Wall Street Journal* were played by the *Post* quite differently:

1. Russia demands Israel pull out of Arab territory: page 18 in the *Post*.
2. Clean air bill passes the Senate: page 2 in the *Post*, only four paragraphs long (20 paragraphs in the *Sun*, 17 in the *Times*, and the equivalent of 11 in *The Wall Street Journal*).

WASHINGTON

3. Saigon election slates approved: page 16 in the *Post*.

4. Status of Newark slum revolt: page 4 in the *Post*.

No rule says that three papers are automatically more rational than one, or that papers should not respond to local or personal idiosyncrasies. But the primary morning monopoly paper, and certainly one striving for greatness, cannot regularly indulge in idiosyncrasies in so important a matter as telling its readers which are the most important stories of the day.

The *Post* and the *Star* are well matched in that significant curiosity in Washington newspaperdom, the women's pages that often carry better political news than the front section. Washington has a well-recognized cast of public characters who during the day carefully censor themselves while they present policy, respond to queries, and hold press conferences; this is reported in the conventional columns. Then at night these same figures go through receptions, cocktail parties, and formal dinners, during which they let down their hair while Washington's formidable battalion of society reporters cruise about in long gowns and smiling masks, jotting down candid, ironic, embarrassing, and sometimes startling things that never would issue from public offices. Many of the society reporters have good political radar. The queen is the *Star*'s Betty Beale, who knows news when she hears it, but the *Post* fields women of comparable talent. I counted good chunks of both women's pages as hard news.

(The women's page competition has its own ferocity. When one of the *Post*'s top social reporters, Scotty Lanahan, F. Scott Fitzgerald's daughter, was separated from her husband, the *Post* was silent but the *Star*'s Betty Beale reported it with considerable detail. A couple of weeks later the *Post* beat the *Star* on the separation of the CIA Director, Richard Helms, and his wife.)

The *Post* has been the local circulation phenom-

enon for some years, and now it is nationally noted for its growing ad lineage. It is the surge of a paper whose social history provides it with momentum.

Eugene Meyer, a Republican banker, bought the *Post* in 1933 for \$825,000, from a playboy oilman. At the time it was the town's most frivolous scandal sheet. Meyer was a strong man with strong feelings, which is a good way to start as a publisher. Shortly after he bought the paper Meyer had an argument in the Mayflower Hotel with Jesse Jones over a *Post* editorial. Jones, who was well over six feet, pushed Meyer to one side. The short, rotund Meyer turned on him, raised his fists and prepared a haymaker. He told an associate:

"Luckily for Jones, some people intervened. That was most fortunate because while I am not tall I had taken boxing lessons in my youth from Gentleman Jim Corbett."

Publishers need courage and loyalty to their papers but they need more than that. One thing is competence and for two years Meyer committed the whole ritual of mistakes most conventional businessmen make with newspapers, errors usually categorized under "playing the short game." But he learned and after a time began building a solid staff. He hired Felix Morley away from the Brookings Institution as editor and Alexander "Casey" Jones from Minneapolis as managing editor. Meyer was a Republican but his wife, Agnes, has always been a powerful figure in liberal causes. The paper became largely sympathetic to the New Deal, though it was independent and leaned toward Republican presidential candidates.

Two events shaped the recent *Post*. One was the appearance of Philip Graham, a tall, lean lawyer who married Eugene's daughter, Katharine, in 1940 and became one of the sons-in-law who periodically make, maintain, or save good papers (another was the late Orvil Dryfoos of the *Times*). Graham was a dynamic, brilliant man, who plunged himself and his paper into contemporary politics and ideas. He became the paper's chief executive and catapulted it into the world of quality. He attracted top talent, like Herblock, the cartoonist.

Graham also influenced the second important event. The *Post* in 1954 purchased its chief competitor and ideological enemy, Colonel McCor-

mick's *Times-Herald*. The *Star* could have bought the paper and didn't. The *Post-Times-Herald* merger was done shrewdly with a minimum loss of McCormick's circulation, largely through retention of favorite features. Though the *Post* shed itself of the Colonel's prehistoric ideology it has kept to this day four pages of comics, including twenty-six strips. More important in the capital, it became the printed daily voice closest to the emerging values of government and of American political thought.

The *Star*'s social history was quite different. The *Star* for a long time had been the best paper in town, solid, staid, serious, the voice of the Old Washington Establishment. It is family owned and operated — the institution of the Kauffmans, Crosbys, and Noyeses. The Old Washington Establishment was typified by the boards of Riggs bank; the Washington, Chevy Chase and Metropolitan clubs; and the Board of Trade. These were largely Washington the Southern Village, filled with gentility, conservatism, parochialism, and a social order into which Jews and Negroes did not intrude. One Jewish newspaper executive came to Washington in the 1930's and remembers being introduced to a leading *Star* hierarch who shook hands coldly and turned to say to no one in particular very loudly, "Why do *they* [for which the executive read the opposition paper] always go to New York [for which he read "Jews"] for people?"

Washington and the rest of American society have changed radically. Gradually and bitterly the Old Establishment lost power. There arose a New Establishment in which, horrendous though it sounded, a Democratic President of the United States could have more status and local influence than a vice president of the Washington Board of Trade. There came a time when Cabinet officers resigned from the top clubs because their governors reprimanded members who tried to bring Negroes to lunch. The New Establishment was filled with political figures, mostly progressive Republicans and moderate Democrats, with a sprinkling of journalists and lawyer-lobbyists. The *Post* was tuned to this focus of power, but not the *Star*.

The top of the *Star*'s administrative and operating hierarchy is filled with Owning Family, which discourages many ambitious professionals. For-

No rule says that USIA appointees must read this newspaper.



(but they all do)

When one newspaper enjoys 100% readership among the key officials of a government department — such as the U. S. Information Agency — you might think reading it was a rule. It isn't, but reading The Washington Post certainly is the rule throughout official Washington. It is read by 95% of all top appointees, and virtually every Congressman.

To a corporate advertiser, this means that The Washington Post reaches practically every person in Washington whose opinion of his company matters. But the Washington Post is actually an excellent buy for any advertiser. It is read in 3 out of 5 families and reaches 50% more Washington area people than are reached by any other newspaper.

The Washington Post — first with the few who have to know
first with the many who want to know.

Promotion: current campaign suggests indispensability

unately among the Family are men who are good newspapermen and recognize the need for change. The *Post* fought the liberal battles of the 1950's almost single-handed. When Washington became the first major city with a Negro majority the *Post* was the paper that had been fighting for integration. Today the *Star*, while still relatively conservative, noticeably sheds each year more of its bitterness at change. It, too, has held onto some top talent, like Mary McGrory and Haynes Johnson.

Philip Graham was an empire builder. He bought *Newsweek*, put together the *Los Angeles Times-Washington Post* syndicate, lured Joseph Alsop and Walter Lippmann away from John Hay Whitney, bought magazine and broadcasting properties, and dreamed of a string of newspapers. His personality was felt throughout the *Post*

news staff. Most news staffs pray for the absence of publishers. But when Graham spent two days a week at *Newsweek* in New York, *Post* staffmen would grumble that the *Post* needed him more.

After Graham's illness and death in 1963 his wife, Katharine, became chief executive officer of the paper, with a will of her own. She brought in Benjamin Bradlee as managing editor from his earlier job as Washington bureau chief for *Newsweek*. The *Post* has been adding talent from around the country, tapping, as can all Washington papers, the surplus of experienced newspaper and magazine men who gravitate to Washington.

Under the new regime, the *Post* seems to be gaining ground, though very slowly, on its old weaknesses. The taint of policy in supposedly objective news accounts begins to fade, though more noticeably in national stories than in local. The eccentricities in story play have diminished, but have not disappeared. The *Post* has its own problems of social evolution. The *Star*'s problem was to grow beyond its secure position in the 1920's and 1930's. The *Post*'s is to forget the merit badges it won in the 1950's during the McCarthy and desegregation battles. All newspaper decorations are perishable, non-transferable, good for one self-congratulation only. The *Post* is as vulnerable as any paper to business office blandness and complacency.

The irony of the *Post* is that it has the basis for greatness: plenty of talent, enterprise, money, and strong leadership. And what it needs is one of the more common commodities in newspapering: a good drill sergeant. In most cities they settle for the drill sergeant alone and let him squeeze human talent into the mold of easy regularity. In the *Post* they have the idea men, the eager talents, and the desire for achievement, and could use the sergeants to provide a rational field of maneuver.

Still, the *Post* attracts significant attention, even beyond the ad agencies. When the *New York Herald Tribune* was around, the *Times* would monitor its front page for any story that might have beaten the *Times*. Now the *Times* each night makes a Xerox of *The Washington Post*'s first edition Page One and transmits it to New York at 10 p.m. One *Times* man said, "We consider it a lot better competition than we can find anywhere else."

Ali or Clay?

In Muhammed Ali's corner: *Sports Illustrated*, *Ramparts*, and almost every Negro publication in the country. In Cassius Clay's corner: The Associated Press, United Press International, the National Broadcasting Company, *The New York Times*, and most of the rest of the news media. The Columbia Broadcasting System and *Life* appear undecided, now going one way, now the other.

What is the name of the best heavyweight fighter in the world? Who was chosen to lead the recent parade in Watts? Who is this world figure, known in Europe, the Middle East, and Asia, this man who says that his preaching as a minister of the Nation of Islam is his vocation, and who refuses induction into the army on those grounds, knowing that he may lose his career and millions of dollars? This is Muhammed Ali.

Another image is that of the young, brash buffoon calling his round and spouting poetry. This is — or was — Cassius Clay.

The New York Times can see both images:

"Muhammed Ali . . . better known as Cassius Clay . . ." (Robert Lipsyte, February 6, 1967).

"Ali, or Cassius Clay as he is sometimes called . . ." (Steve Cady, February 3, 1967).

The double image results, on the surface at least, from a combination of habit and journalistic principle. Those publications that predominantly use "Clay" argue that their readers would not grasp who Ali is; moreover, they say, he has not legally changed his name; third, they do not feel that they are doing anyone any injury.

Clifton Daniel, managing editor of *The New York Times*, summed it up: "It's a simple matter that the man's name is Cassius Clay. It's his legal name, the name given when he was born. There is no moral feeling about this: if he wants to call himself Jesus Christ, we don't care. It's not a matter of principle but a matter of practice." Daniel added that to construe the use of "Cassius Clay" as an insult would be "invidious."

The fact is that Ali himself regards "Clay" as insulting, as one badly beaten ring opponent, Ernie Terrell, found out after he taunted the champion with it.

"It makes him so mad that he won't answer you," notes Hayden Covington, his former lawyer. "It is not merely personal but religious: since he became a member of the Nation of Islam he considers the use of 'Cassius Clay' an affront against his religion."

Covington also discounts the argument that Ali is not a "legal" name. "It's true that he hasn't got a court order, but it really isn't necessary; under the common law a man doesn't have to get a court order to change his name, he can be known by any name he wishes. And of course, as far as the Nation of Islam is concerned, each name has a religious significance. They refuse to sully the name by getting it 'approved' by a court." Covington added that all the civil proceedings he has initiated since Ali refused induction into the Army last April 28 have been in the name of Muhammed Ali.

The question of reader identification is more difficult. Andrew Crichton, senior boxing editor at *Sports Illustrated*, remembers that his magazine's change-over was gradual. "We went ahead and did it," Crichton says, "because the man deserves that certain dignity that calling him Ali gives. It grates on me to see 'Cassius Clay'; it's like saying 'O.K., you're colored and you haven't got a right to do that sort of thing.'"

Crichton adds that "Ali has acted more dignified since changing his name. We were struck by the fact, we respect it, and we get along with him. He has calmed down and acts a lot older — he was just a youngster when he won the crown — and you can't deny his basic humanity. He will talk sometimes of hate, but he really can't bring himself to do it, because he really likes people."

Still, Cassius Clay is the name by which Ali won the championship from Sonny Liston on February 25, 1964. The next morning Ali confirmed rumors of his membership in the Nation of Islam. Soon after, he revealed the name given to him by Elijah Muhammed, leader of the Nation of Islam.

The public has had more than three years to accustom itself to the name of Muhammed Ali. In my own informal polls, one of which was conducted in Marion, Indiana (population 35,000), almost all, including those who might think an uppercut is a piece of sirloin, knew who Muhammed Ali is as well as who he was.

But even if the news media feel that after three years they have been unable to communicate to the public that the heavyweight champion of the world has a new name, at least they could take a more definite step towards changing over. The formula "Cassius Clay, who prefers to be called Muhammed Ali" and the subsequent use of "Clay" could be reversed into something like "Muhammed Ali, who was formerly known as (or born) Cassius Clay." After this clarification, Ali could be used in the remainder of the article. In time it would be possible to dispense with "Clay".

This small step is the crucial one, for it implies a recognition of the legitimacy of the Nation of Islam and the names it chooses for its members. Those who continue to use "Clay" deny that the origin of the name Muhammed Ali had anything to do with the decision to use "Clay." Yet they would do well to review their practice to be certain that it is based on purely professional grounds — whether, for example, they are not applying a much more rigid standard to Ali than to numerous other celebrities with adopted names.

The result may be that reached by Robert Northshield, producer of NBC's Huntley-Brinkley show: "We always called him Clay. He changed his name, we didn't. Ali is not a real name, it's a phony thing adopted by those people. We are making a judgment, sure, but it's on the side of accuracy."

On the other hand, it may be found that Ali is not a phony name. It may be decided to call the Nation of Islam's most prominent member by the name he chooses.

It was reported that the white press was "shocked and angry" when Ali confirmed he was a "Black Muslim." By now that shock and anger should have worn off, and more heed is due to Ali's simple statement: "I do not have to be what you want me to be. I'm free to be who I want."

MICHAEL MAIDENBERG

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Fragments in the air

It seems hard to believe that many newspapers fought the growth of radio because they feared newscasts would cause a loss of readership and the downfall of the printed press. A few enlightened observers saw that radio news would whet listeners' appetites for the more complete press coverage. In view of some of the news broadcasts heard today, it would seem that radio must not only be whetting appetites, but driving listeners to the newspapers for news.

The intelligence and patience of listeners are frequently tried by announcers who stumble over copy, mispronounce names and words, repeat items, and make innumerable pauses.

What is more frustrating is the lack of accurate, coherent news. Too often it sounds as if the news editor has exchanged shears for broadax. A concise, yet complete, news story on radio seems hard to come by.

A Baltimore station announced these "stories" with hardly a pause for breath between them: "Maryland beer drinkers may soon face a shortage of their favorite brew. A controversial Ocean City teenage dance hall has been closed."

A beer shortage because a dance hall is closing? A cause and effect relationship? A full story? No, simply two unrelated and incomplete items. But why is there a beer shortage — truckers or brewery workers on strike, the state going dry, a new tax on beer, shorter hours for bars or liquor stores?

News about the Congo came from Wilmington, Delaware, this way: "The Congo Information Industry has released details about the recent kidnapping of former Congolese Premier Moïse Tshombe" — and on to the next item!

A New Britain, Connecticut, broadcaster announced Congo news like this: "The U.S. Air Force is sending three transports to the Congo to aid in putting down the rebellion." He never said what the transports were doing — taking in U.S. soldiers or arms, removing evacuees, airlifting Congolese troops, or what.

Some announcers seem to be only machines who read anything put in front of them. A Boston station repeated in several of its broadcasts that the minimum salary being sought by public school teachers was \$7,500, a figure that probably surprised the taxpayers listening. If the broadcaster had read the newspapers, he would have known the correct figure was \$5,700.

The Plainfield, New Jersey, racial outbreak was located all day on a Boston radio station in *Plainville*, New Jersey. Boston's Redevelopment Authority director was dubbed head of the transportation authority in another broadcast. Another broadcaster reviewed a school system hassle without ever saying what system he was talking about.

A weekend accidental death toll of fourteen should not have raised listeners' hopes that at last fewer Americans were getting themselves killed. This was a regional toll, but the announcer did not say so.

Finally, I must note a billboard I saw advertising a Boston station. Tune in, drivers were urged, but where? Everything was there but the frequency.

KATHRYN JORGENSEN

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Chrysanthemum curtain

By RICHARD HALLORAN

Some American correspondents overseas bang their heads against an Iron Curtain. Others attempt to pierce a Bamboo Curtain. Here in Japan they try to grope their way through a Chrysanthemum Curtain,* perhaps the most subtle form of censorship extant anywhere.

The wall thrown up against foreign correspondents here is clear and hard in some places, vague and misty in others. Essentially, it is the oldest and most easily practiced censorship — censorship at the source. If the reporter cannot get to the source, he cannot report authoritatively on what the source thinks, says, or does. This form of censorship is not unknown in other parts of the world, including the United States, but the Japanese have refined it.

The reasons for the Chrysanthemum Curtain are rooted deep in Japanese culture. The Japanese, an insular people, have an ancient dislike and distrust of foreigners. They are self-conscious, individually and collectively, and want the world to see only the side of Japan that they themselves choose to present. Within Japanese society, many facets of life are carefully regulated, leaving as little to chance as possible. The Japanese do this through group decision, collective responsibility, and conformity.

The control of news is no exception. From these fundamental Japanese attitudes arises a concept of news that conforms to the Japanese norm. The

Japanese press reflects the most strongly held tenets of Japanese society, leading to close regulation of its methods and of the news it publishes. The press here acts much as a valve, letting through to the Japanese public and the outside world only the news permitted by the governing Establishment, of which the Japanese press is a part and an instrument. The concept of the public's right to know is alien to Japanese society.

The main censorship mechanism in Japan is a pervasive nationwide network of "press clubs," which are reporters' associations attached to every government agency at the national, prefectural (state), and most local levels. The press clubs, which have no resemblance to the organizations bearing that name in the United States, operate at political party headquarters, business associations and firms, labor unions, and educational, social, and athletic organizations. At times, *ad hoc* clubs are formed to cover conferences or other onetime events.

These clubs, not the sources or the media, determine who covers the news, what questions are asked in many cases, what information is released to the public, and generally how news media conduct their news-gathering operations. The press clubs are able to enforce their will because the sources cooperate with them and do not violate rules the clubs set down. Some officials and politicians complain privately that unless they go along with the clubs they will be attacked publicly. In reality, the clubs are so close to their sources that most of what is printed is just what the sources want printed.

The press clubs are uniformly anti-foreign. No foreign correspondent is allowed to belong, even

*I am indebted to Samuel Jameson of *The Chicago Tribune* for this term.

if he should want to. He is therefore systematically excluded from all on-the-record news conferences and briefings of ministers, bureaucrats, economic leaders, and politicians. The sole exception is the foreign minister, whose ministry has negotiated a pact with its press club to allow foreign correspondents to attend some of his conferences.

The most important news sources affected by this exclusion are the prime minister and his chief cabinet secretary. The foreign correspondent may cover the prime minister's news conference by television, although not all of it is always televised. But he has no access to the chief cabinet secretary, who is the government's chief public spokesman. The chief cabinet secretary meets the Japanese press three or four times daily, much as the White House press secretary meets correspondents twice a day. In a minute concession to the foreign press here, the present prime minister, Eisaku Sato, promised in 1965 to meet foreign correspondents twice a year, and at least two chief cabinet secretaries have promised to meet them four times a year. To date, neither of these promises has been kept, although the prime minister received the foreign press once in December, 1966, and the chief cabinet secretary did so once in August, 1967. A former chief cabinet secretary, Kiichi Aichi, told foreign correspondents in November, 1966, that he would like to meet them once a month — but he was shuffled out of the cabinet shortly after and his words are not considered binding on his successor.

Foreign correspondents are also excluded from the daily or frequent on-the-record briefings given by senior officials at the foreign ministry, finance ministry, the ruling party's headquarters, opposition parties' headquarters, and the Diet (parliament). While much of this information can be picked up from the Japanese press (a day later) or from the Kyodo News Service ticker, the exclusions mean that foreign correspondents have no chance to ask the questions of particular interest to them and their readers or to be exposed to the

nuances of the sources. This is not a matter of language, as the Japanese contend. Foreign correspondents can either learn Japanese or use interpreters and all here argue that this is the correspondents' problem, not that of the sources.

American correspondents here find it most difficult to see ministers, high-level bureaucrats, or top party officials on their own. The most frequent reason for refusing an interview is that the press club connected with the source will object if the foreign correspondent is given an exclusive interview, which is against most club rules for its members. Sometimes, the sources will see the foreigner but so long after an event that the correspondent feels more like historian than reporter. A few politicians are exceptions and receive the foreign correspondent cordially and speak candidly, though often not for attribution (so that the press club doesn't learn of it). In some cases, the politician is not a major figure and the press club does not care. Refusals are not limited to the government party. Opposition leaders turn down foreign correspondents for exactly the same reasons as the ruling group. Only leaders of Komeito, political party of the Buddhist Soka Gakkai sect, readily agree to see foreign correspondents and, indeed, actively seek them out.

Further, in its cozy arrangements with the Establishment of bureaucrats, politicians, and businessmen who make the major decisions for Japan, the Japanese press prints little investigative reporting or inside information. A scandal, for instance, comes to light only after the opposition brings it up or after the alleged culprit is indicted. Because news of this sort is not published, the foreign correspondent is cut off from a tremendous amount of subsurface information about Japanese society. Much as he hates to admit it, the foreign correspondent here (and everywhere else) is dependent on the local press for the basic outlines of the news, for some initial legwork, and for the clues that lead him to stories of particular interest to his own readers. In Japan, the foreign correspondent gets only what the Establishment wants him to get — though it should be admitted, too, that this is also what the Japanese public gets.

The Japanese press habitually sits on news that does not fit into its prejudices, or shows Japan in

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a bad light, or occurs outside the press club system, or involves the press itself. The basic philosophy of the press here, as once explained by two senior Japanese reporters in a somewhat contentious discussion, is that news must be considered not for its inherent interests but on a "higher plane," of the effect on the Japanese national interest, or international relations, domestic politics, and Japanese society. News, as they see it, is not a commodity in the public domain but a lever to move subsequent events. At no time during the two-hour conversation did they mention the public's need to know.

This concept applies not only to high policy but to mundane affairs. In August of this year, the press club attached to the Transport Ministry refused to allow foreign correspondents to attend a routine press conference following the completion of a French-Japanese air rights negotiation. The press club leader said it would not be in "Japan's national interests."

The Japanese press is especially loath to have its own operations publicized. Not a word appeared in the Japanese press when reporters from the Japan Broadcasting Corporation, the publicly owned radio-television network better known by its call letters NHK, were suspended from the prime minister's and the ruling party headquarters' press clubs for seven weeks last winter for breaking a club rule against exclusive interviews. Before January's national elections, NHK invited heads of five parties to participate in a televised debate. Prime Minister Sato appeared in his capacity as president of his party but the press club interpreted this as an exclusive interview and suspended NHK. During the time NHK reporters were out, they missed two major news conferences of the prime minister and the daily briefings by the chief cabinet secretary. (The press conferences were not completely televised by the commercial networks, and in one, Sato was interrupted in the middle of an important comment on nuclear non-proliferation when the station returned to its Saturday afternoon soap opera.)

The Japanese are especially sensitive when anyone pokes around in the press club system itself. When this reporter went to the prime minister's press club to check out the NHK story, the current leader of the club "advised" five times during the

interview that this was an "internal" affair and that if an article appeared, it would "harm relations" between the prime minister's press club and the foreign correspondents here.

This was an absurd threat because the relations between the Japanese press and the foreign press, except for individual personal friendships, are either non-existent or full of bad blood. In contrast, American reporters in many other countries enjoy common professional ties with the newsmen of their host nation. The running battle here between the thin line of foreign skirmishers and the Japanese defense in depth does not endear one side to the other. The fight comes into the open during occasional joint news conferences when American or other foreign sources come through Tokyo. The Japanese, by pooling questions and appointing a single questioner to represent the Japanese press corps, grab the floor and attempt to monopolize the entire session. More than once a foreign correspondent has had to stand up and, interrupting in no uncertain terms, remind the source or his press officer that it is a joint conference and everybody is supposed to get an equal crack at asking questions. Public squabbling only adds to the ill-feeling.

The Chrysanthemum Curtain thus makes Japan one of the more difficult countries to report outside of the Communist bloc. Japan does not have the physical hazards of Viet Nam (although there are those who, faced with Tokyo traffic, debate this) or the complete inaccessibility of Communist China, or the perpetual threat of expulsion of the Soviet Union. But it is far more difficult than the United States and correspondents who have worked in Europe say it is tougher even than Paris. In Asia, information is much harder to obtain in Japan than in Korea or Taiwan.

The American correspondent's major sources here are his personal contacts, which are important everywhere but absolutely vital in Japan. It takes longer to find and cultivate them but once a personal bond is established, American correspondents find their Japanese sources often more honest and candid than people in similar positions in the United States. Much of the routine information that in America comes from press briefings and conferences comes from personal sources here.

In an effort to open up channels of access, American and other foreign correspondents here take every opportunity to persuade responsible sources to meet with them, either individually or in groups. The foreign press contends that not only should all newsmen be treated equally but that such treatment could benefit Japan, a nation deeply involved in international trade and aspiring to be included on the world political scene. Several correspondents here make constant reference in their dispatches to the restrictions, both to tell the reader the conditions under which the reporter came by his information and to needle sources who won't talk.

The general line of the foreign press is to hold the Japanese government and other sources responsible for the exclusion policy and not to recognize the right of the Japanese press to determine who will and who will not cover the news.

Within the foreign press there has been some discussion of trying to retaliate against the Japanese press by urging government officials in Washington, London, or Paris to exclude Japanese foreign correspondents posted there. But the majority of foreign correspondents here — though not all — think such steps would only worsen the situation.

The efforts of the foreign press in Japan have had some loosening effect in the past year or so, sometimes by foreign correspondents use of what the Japanese call "high posture" (being demanding), sometimes by "low posture" (being conciliatory). The foreign ministry notably has improved its relations with the foreign press with a weekly news conference on the record given by a well-

informed official. He is occasionally backed up by specialists on particular subjects. The assignment to the public affairs bureau of a senior official experienced in dealing with the press in the United States has helped make background explanations easier to obtain. The finance ministry has also assigned a competent and articulate high official to hold occasional briefings. The chief cabinet secretary has met the foreign press once and promised to do so again. The secretary-general of the ruling party is also available occasionally and appears to enjoy the give-and-take with the foreign press, which many Japanese do not. The prime minister first refused but then, after considerable negotiation, allowed two foreign correspondents to accompany him on his autumn trips through Southeast Asia.

Overall, however, these are but modest gains and the outlook is bleak.

Despite all the contact that America and Japan have had for the past one hundred years, in both peace and war, Japan is still little known and greatly misunderstood in America. Part of the fault lies with the American correspondents here, who are not well trained in Japanese history, language, and culture. Part of the fault, as John Hohenberg pointed out in his recent book *Between Two Worlds*, is the fault of many editors in America who are interested only in violence or gimmickry from Japan. But a good share of the blame must rest squarely on the shoulders of the Japanese themselves for not permitting information about their land to be gathered and disseminated by responsible American correspondents.

Lack of incentives

From "The Levittowners," by Herbert Gans (Pantheon Books):

... more sophisticated coverage of the actual government is held back by lack of incentives for doing so. Protests by politicians may contribute to the reporter's pride that he has done a good job, but they may also get him a warning from his editor. Professional rewards for scrupulous reporting and in-depth analysis are rare; the newspapermen who work for small-town dailies are not read widely enough by their professional peers or in the executive suites of top papers and magazines to bring the better job offers that follow superior performance in other occupations.

Labor news this fall was dominated by conflict: teachers' strikes in Michigan and New York, a strike against a broadcasting network, and a prolonged siege of the Ford Motor Company by the United Automobile Workers. In this article, a member of the National Labor Relations Board argues that not only do newspapers fail to give labor news attention comparable to that accorded business, but they neglect important parts of labor reporting in favor of crisis.

Equal breaks for labor news

By SAM ZAGORIA

Sixteen years ago *Business Week* headed a survey article on daily labor reporting with these words: "Public opinion is crucial in determining attitudes and policies on labor matters. In this area especially, management needs an informed public opinion. No source for public information on labor issues equals in importance the daily newspapers."

The October 20, 1951, article concluded that "contrary to popular belief, there is really a considerable amount of honest, impartial coverage of labor news in the American press."

I venture to intrude into the *Columbia Journalism Review* because "I used to be a newspaperman myself" and am concerned about the adequacy of labor news coverage in the daily papers today. First, let me cite a few statistics:

Editor & Publisher Year Book, 1951: business-financial editors, 239; labor editors, 154.

Editor & Publisher Year Book, 1967: business-financial editors, 434; labor editors, 12.

Sam Zagoria, formerly a reporter for The Washington Post and administrative assistant to Senator Clifford P. Case, was appointed to the National Labor Relations Board in 1965.

United States Department of Labor, 1967: 76,000,000 working men and women in the United States.

Securities and Exchange Commission, 1967: 22,000,000 stockholders in the United States.

The decline in the proportion of labor editors to business editors (64 to 3 per cent) at the same time that the nation's work force has increased by almost a third might well give the ranks of those proclaiming that newspapers are better than ever a hesitant moment or two. But mere figures do not tell the whole story, as any woman can remind you.

Some editors may find the *Editor & Publisher* listings misleading, arguing that, as President Johnson has suggested for the two comparable cabinet departments, they have merged labor and business news in one compartment now headed by the business or financial editor. However, a reading of the resulting product suggests that the title is more accurate than the intention in most cases. The *Year Book* does not catalog labor reporters or financial reporters, labor columnists or financial columnists, but observation indicates that the imbalance is undisturbed.

Is there today "a considerable amount of honest, impartial coverage of labor news" in the American daily press?

Starting with the word "considerable," I believe a fair answer is that there is not. Of course, there will be those who argue that there is not much labor news to start with, defining news by their own standards of controversy or violence.

But putting aside for a moment those who say the police reporter's approach to news and appealing to those who sincerely believe that newspapers are better, let us examine the labor news that does appear.

Generally speaking, when such news is carried it focuses on labor in trouble—strikes, lock-

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outs, picketing, personality disputes among union leaders. At the same time, business pages in the paper, day in and day out, carry column after column of good news — news of earnings reports, company expansions, mergers, personnel promotions, new contracts, or orders, for example. There may be a few negative items, but mostly the news is good news.

Relatively unreported are the decisions of the hundreds of thousands of employees to have a union represent them or not (usually in National Labor Relations Board secret ballot elections) or the agreement of thousands of employers and their employees on new contracts setting the shape and tempo of the third of their lives devoted to work. And this is only a part of the news which could be developed by a competent, interested labor editor, as I will suggest later on.

Secretary of Labor W. Willard Wirtz has said it well: "It is a significant fact that particularly in this labor relations area — although in others as well — good news, reversing the adage, is no news. A strike is invariably the subject of extended coverage, with pictures, and usually with accompanying editorials. The peaceful signing of a new collective bargaining agreement, even in a major industry, is at best a one-day story, usually on an inside page."

He went on to say: "I count it a matter of serious concern that the public receives, in the press, what is, in my view of it, a seriously distorted picture of American labor and labor relations."

Even the labor news that is carried fails to reach the standards newspapers achieve in other fields. The 1951 *Business Week* article paid tribute to the late Louis Stark of *The New York Times*, for "by his own example he taught newspapers everywhere how labor news should be covered. . . .

"The trademarked Stark story gave readers the background of the controversy in cold detail, the views and positions of the antagonists in their own

terms, and the facts — which were sometimes very different from what either party to the dispute was alleging. A typical Stark report appraised the significance of the controversy and, with never a florid or emotional word, managed somehow to convey the drama that has been inherent in most labor developments over the last two decades."

Today, in the absence of trained labor reporters who have continuing contacts, background, and resulting perspective, labor news is frequently thrown in the lap of the police reporter, general assignment man, or the rewrite man, accompanied by the handouts of company or union or, sometimes, both. The result all too often is oversimplification, exacerbation, and a story unfair to the participants and certainly to the readers. John Q. Reader, for whose information millions are invested in newspaper plants and services, for whom hundreds are employed to seek out truth, is left with an impression that labor is always causing trouble or is always in trouble.

Why is there such a lop-sided lack of interest in labor news coverage as compared with business news coverage? In a period when specialists are many and growing in number on most newspaper staffs — education, science, politics, courts, municipal and state government, even international affairs and civil rights, why no labor specialist?

People in the labor movement have their suspicions — newspapers receive advertising revenue from stockbroker ads and almost none from unions; newspaper publishers are businessmen themselves and so are keenly interested in business news; newspaper publishers are also employers and are not eager to carry news giving unions recognition or credit.

Whatever the validity of these thoughts, it is interesting to recognize that many of the companies whose prosperity is so thoroughly reported in the business pages probably have unions; also that the presence of unions often raises income levels at the plants where they have contracts (and frequently at the ones nearby where they do not) and thus provides more of a response for the retail store ads appearing in the newspapers.

Even more important, I suggest, is that good labor reporting could point up problems before they reach the public dispute stage, the stage

where the whole community (newspaper included) suffers. Early attention can do much to ease relationships, getting at them when they are chilling or even slushing, but not frozen. For example, efforts to organize hospital and nursing home personnel, apartment house staffs, government workers including teachers, welfare recipients, and police patrolmen, come as an utter shock to many opinion leaders.

All too often when an essential service breaks down the reader is left wondering why he didn't know about this before. Sure, he read the three-part series on the marijuana menace, the Sunday piece on the hippie heavens, and the page-one display of the whips and masks at the sex torture house, but why all of a sudden white collar unionism?

But labor news is not limited to hard news of labor unions, not by a long shot, for only a fifth of the nation's working men and women have joined unions. There is a lot going on in the world of work — involving almost 40 per cent of the nation's total population — which could be reported more fully. Almost every city now has a highly automated plant. How has it worked out? Did it make money for the company? Create new jobs, reduce old jobs, revise existing jobs, expand services, increase payroll? Are other companies following suit? My own experience in many cities has been that plant managers are happy to discuss these changes and eager to show the marvels of their new computer-assisted automation.

What's happening to pension programs in terms of benefits, eligibility age, or the new move toward portability?

How stable is the labor force in the community? Is the national trend to more jobs in a working lifetime reflected here? Are jobs moving from the central city to the suburbs? Are working wives increasing in number and how does this affect family relationships?

How come certain companies are never unionized? What really motivates workers — only material rewards? How goes the trend toward stock options and profit-sharing?

Are we really in the midst of another major worker revolution as some economists have suggested — first from the farm to the factory, then

from the factory to the service trades, and perhaps now from the private to the public sector?

And there are the dynamic tensions in the labor movement — the continuing relationship of craft to industrial unions and the internal change of some unions into largely industrial unions; the growing emphasis on assembly line, continuous-flow processing, and the effect on work jurisdictions; the impact of civil rights on limited supply unions and the emotion-ridden impact of civil rights on seniority — a heart issue in unionism.

These are intended only as suggestive — teasers to tempt editors and publishers into rediscovering the world of work. I do not suggest that every newspaper should have a labor editor or labor reporter, although I know that the mere appointment could lead to more and better coverage, but at least that papers give as much attention as to advising readers on how to kill ants on oak trees, the closing stock prices on the Toronto exchange, or the horse racing results from half a dozen tracks. Working people, their work-day interests, concerns, and activities, should be mirrored in the papers, too.

Right now I venture there are more pictures of shapely girls on handsome boats in the papers (and I look at them, too) than of men and women working for a living. Right now I venture, although I have no way of checking, that there are more boating editors than labor editors, and I have no hostility to boating editors (some of my best friends are).

A. H. Raskin, assistant editor of the editorial page of *The New York Times* and a leading labor reporter, recently remarked that American newspapers need more interpretive reporting. "The good analytic reporter in science, urban affairs, civil rights, education, politics, or international relations is the one who weaves a pattern of comprehensive reality out of the crazy quilt of dynamic development that is incessant in all these fields," he said. He urged development of reporters who can "peg even" with their sources in these fields.

If this list is amended to include labor editors and reporters, the reporting service of daily newspapers will indeed be better than ever, as will be the knowledge of their 61,000,000 readers.

Newspaper antitrust: "trade copy" only?

The trial of what is generally regarded as a landmark antitrust case for the newspaper industry went virtually unreported by one of the principal defendants — the giant *Los Angeles Times* — and other major Southern California news outlets. Only at the end did the *Times* reverse itself and offer coverage in depth.

The seven-week trial resulted in a ruling on October 11 that upset the 1964 acquisition of three San Bernardino papers by the Times Mirror Company, parent of the *Times*. Judge Warren J. Ferguson of Federal District Court in Los Angeles upheld the Department of Justice's contention that the \$15-million acquisition tended to reduce newspaper competition in a ten-county area in Southern California. Pending the outcome of any appeal to the Supreme Court, the *Times* must divest itself of the property. However, Judge Ferguson denied a government bid to enjoin the *Times* permanently from acquiring any other paper in the area, ruling in effect that any future antitrust aspects of such acquisitions should be decided on their individual merits.

The ruling was the first attempt to define just what constitutes a monopoly in the newspaper business. It takes on added significance because of the continued trend toward mergers and acquisitions in the industry. Currently, 775 of 1,754 U.S. dailies belong to chains.

The case involved Times Mirror's purchase of the Sun Company of San Bernardino (66 miles east of Los Angeles) whose principal properties were the San Bernardino *Sun*, a 60,000-circulation morning paper; the smaller evening *Telegram*; and the Sunday *Sun-Telegram*.

The focal point of the government case was that Times Mirror, by acquiring the morning *Sun*, had neutralized a rival for the morning *Times* (circulation 861,000). The company denied the charges and asserted that the two papers were not and never had been in competition with one another. Ultimately, Judge Ferguson's ruling centered on section 7 of the Clayton antitrust act, which made

the issue hinge on monopoly rather than restraint of competition.

Although the trial lasted seven weeks (from May to September, with time out before final arguments), the *Times* devoted only four stories to the case — including one that may have resulted from prodding by Los Angeles Mayor Sam Yorty, who chided the paper for its light coverage.

Before the trial, the *Times* managing editor announced that his paper would print stories on the first day of the trial and the last day of testimony — the *Times*'s policy, he said, in reporting civil suits. Both stories appeared; both ran deep inside the paper. They totaled eleven paragraphs.

After Mayor Yorty, often at odds with the *Times*, scolded the paper by writing that "reports of this suit are visibly absent from the *Times*'s daily news columns," the paper said it would summarize the entire case when oral arguments were concluded. That summary appeared September 24 and ran about four columns inside the first section of a Sunday edition. It presented both sides of the case at length and quoted liberally from the trial transcript.

The fourth story reported Judge Ferguson's decision. It, too, ran inside the paper, occupying 42 column inches on page 15.

Meanwhile, in late May, when the trial was in its third week, the *Times* published a Sunday essay condemning the Justice Department's and Supreme Court's "anti-bigness" approach toward mergers and acquisitions and defending corporate takeovers as being generally healthy for the economy. The piece, however, did not mention the antitrust suit against the paper.

Sparse as it was, the *Times*'s coverage of its own trial was the only such news the average Los Angeles newspaper reader received. The Hearst-owned afternoon *Herald-Examiner* carried not a line during the trial, and similar silence prevailed at Los Angeles television stations.

According to Al Greenstein, news coordinator for CBS-owned KNXT, civil suits are not covered by television crews because of courtroom taboos as well as the length of litigation.

"We knew the case would be in the courts for many weeks, and we also thought that much of the testimony was 'trade copy' that would only

interest people in the newspaper business," he explained.

Interviews with a majority of the news editors of area dailies indicated a consensus that supported this reasoning. "It was a running story without much general reader interest," said Miles E. Sines, executive editor of the Long Beach *Independent* and *Press-Telegram*.

On the other hand, Gladwin Hill, West Coast correspondent for *The New York Times*,— which covered the case in depth, perhaps even with relish, reduced the trial's issues to a common denominator when he wrote in one of his stories:

"What does this mean to the average citizen? The premise of the government and of many outside observers is that concentration of ownership implies diminished competition for advertising, a tendency toward higher advertising rates, and diminished competition for readers, implying less effort to give them the best possible product."

Beyond the almost-nil coverage in the Los Angeles metropolitan press, reporting of the trial's news was limited to several stories among the twenty-one outlying dailies. Independent papers in Fullerton, Hollywood, Redlands, Riverside, and Santa Monica carried more or less regular coverage. The San Bernardino *Sun-Telegram* itself began occasional coverage in its financial section after the first week.

The Wall Street Journal, which has a West Coast edition, did not cover the trial but ran a 15-inch story on the judge's ruling. The newspaper trade weekly, *Editor & Publisher*, stayed with the trial throughout and ran a full summary at the summer interval.

Much of the government's case hinged on its claim that a supercity is in the process of formation between Santa Barbara (northwest of Los Angeles) and the Mexican border, and that acquisition of the San Bernardino papers was designed to help fill in a corporate jigsaw puzzle that eventually would give Times Mirror control of all major profitable Southern California dailies. Various feelers or outright offers from Times Mirror to dailies in Santa Barbara, Riverside, Bakersfield, and Pomona were mentioned at the trial, along with the company's purchase of the *Orange Coast Pilot* in Costa Mesa. The government laid these

efforts against a backdrop of Times Mirror's vigorous national diversification policy.

At the trial, Norman Chandler, Times Mirror chief executive, was questioned about the twin deaths of his *Los Angeles Mirror* and the Hearst-owned *Los Angeles Examiner* in 1962. Chandler, then publisher of the *Mirror* and the *Times*, said he knew the *Examiner* would fold when the *Mirror* closed its doors, a fact that was somewhat obscured at the time. He added that in 1961 his company offered \$5 million for the *Herald-Express*, the surviving Hearst afternoon paper in Los Angeles, and that between 1958 and 1961 he and Hearst officials had discussed the possibility that Los Angeles might be served by only one morning and one afternoon paper.

Times attorneys counterattacked with a phalanx of company officials, news executives, economists, and professors, who insisted that the *Times* had never been in direct competition with the *Sun-Telegram*. Basic to the *Times's* defense was its assertion that the morning newspaper appeals only to the audience in its immediate metropolitan area, and that the real competition comes from radio and television.

Judge Ferguson disregarded this, holding: "The fact that two merging companies presently compete or do not compete is not the significant issue. Congress has directed that the courts must look to the effect and impact of the merger. If its effect is anticompetitive, then there is a violation."

He apparently gave heavy weight to testimony from officials of independent papers in the area who asserted that the merger had adversely affected their advertising and circulation.

Whatever the final outcome of the case, it could reasonably have been expected that news of the trial itself might have led to a public awareness of the *Times's* expansion efforts in the area. But ironically, many newspaper readers never got news of what the newspaper was doing because of that newspaper's own news dim-out.

ROBERT A. RUTLAND

Robert A. Rutland is the chairman of the department of journalism, University of California, Los Angeles.

BOOKS

Noted briefly

RADIO PROGRAMMING IN ACTION: Realities and Opportunities. Edited by Sherril W. Taylor. Hastings House, New York. \$6.50.

This slender volume holds some strong shop talk by radio men, adapted from what they said at recent programming seminars of the National Association of Broadcasters. A section on news and public service bears the subtitle, "Modern Radio's Major Role," and the substance of what follows suggests that there are men who honestly believe this in towns as disparate as Muscatine, Little Falls, Boston, or Seattle.

The burden of their message is strangely like what one might have heard at newspaper get-togethers in the hotly competitive world of fifty years ago. The station with an alert news department, plenty of on-the-spot reports, editorial integrity, and the courage to take a stand on issues of the day, the message goes, wins the fearful struggle to get and hold an audience. These pieces are highly informative, and they carry conviction.

PRESENT TENSE: An American Editor's Odyssey. By Norman Cousins. McGraw-Hill Book Co., New York. \$7.95.

Offhand, one would not expect passing meditations from the *Saturday Review* to be incarcerated in a handsome 655-page tome sewn, yet, and with a gold-lettered spine. Nevertheless, let us be grateful for small favors. The best part of this behemoth relates "The Life and Times of the *Saturday Review*" in its doughty editor's own words, a satisfying narrative tending to prove that it pays to be literate, if not strictly literary. Next comes Mr. Cousins' accounts of his well-conducted crusades to help the disfigured maidens of Hiroshima and the Polish victims of Nazi medical "experiments." The rest is inevitably of uneven interest, but the browser will come away with the happy feeling that it is still possible, in an age that babbles with mass communication, for a single editor who has something to say

and the ability to say it to command a national audience all his own.

LITERARY PROPERTY. By Richard Wincor. Clarkson N. Potter, Inc., New York. \$5.

Moonlighters who seek to alleviate journalism's daily grind by turning out a book, a play, or a script for television or the movies will find in Mr. Wincor's suave prose some of the practical advice needed to protect their rights. Though he does not say it in so many words, he makes it abundantly clear that for all but the first, one does jolly well to get a lawyer and a good one. In television, the simple question of who gets what is so complicated by residuals, "spin-offs" (meaning the transplant of established characters to new stories), foreign licensing, and such that the author — a New York lawyer in this field himself — says it is about as easy to understand as the world of nuclear physics. Nevertheless, his exposition here and elsewhere is clear enough to make *Literary Property* a valuable primer.

THE SMELL OF BURNING CROSSES: An Autobiography of a Mississippi Newspaperman. By Ira B. Harkey, Jr. Harris-Wolfe & Co., Jacksonville, Ill. \$5.75.

The last line of this stirring account of an editor-publisher's fourteen-year struggle to bring decency to the town of Pascagoula, Mississippi is simply a dateline: *Columbus, Ohio/May, 1967*. The poignancy is not lost on the reader. Ira Harkey, a New Orleans reporter with the radical opinion that Negroes are human beings, deliberately sought out "the murkiest area of the South" to test his belief that the whites were educable. He found it in Pascagoula, bought the weekly *Chronicle* (circ.: 3,600) in 1949, built it into a twice-weekly and then a daily, (circ.: 8,400), the while speaking out so clearly as to win notice in the *Review*'s columns and elsewhere. In Mississippi, of course, the notice he won was different: he was a pariah among editors. "Anti-State Editorials Win Prize" headlined the Vicksburg *Evening Post* when Harkey won his Pulitzer for advocating law and order during the University of

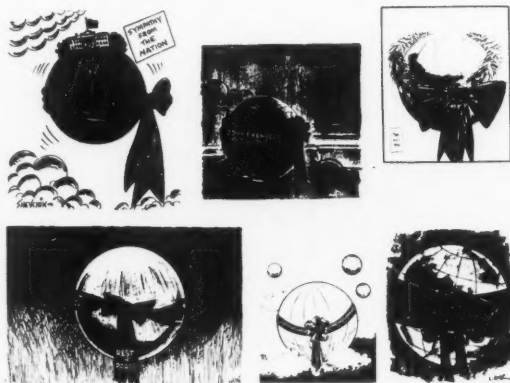
Mississippi integration crisis. He went on to a greater triumph, facing down a terrorist group that tried to take over his town.

Yet, like Professor James Silver of the University of Mississippi, Harkey reached the point where he could live amid hatred no longer. Like Silver, he left still convinced that the closed society must one day open — "soon, just beyond the bloodspill after next." Harkey's prose is a bit overblown, his narrative repetitious, but no one can read this indictment of Topsy-Turvyland and its journalism without marveling that the man came out alive.

A NATION GRIEVED: The Kennedy Assassination in Editorial Cartoons. Compiled and edited by Captain Raymond B. Rapski, USAF, Ret. Charles E. Tuttle Co., Rutland, Vt. \$5.

Four years after the event, this collection conveys a shock very different from what the cartoonists were attempting to register at the time. Their banality is overwhelming. Either the cartoonists were rendered as inarticulate as everyone else by the unbelievable news from Dallas, or we have relived the day so often since that we are no longer capable of being moved by pictures of Uncle Sam crying, a Lincoln bowing his head, a veiled Mrs. Kennedy displaying a "Profile in Courage," or a globe with all flags flying at half mast. The volume has historical value, but one doubts the many cartoonists included will feel especially proud. What pathos there is here emerges from a sense of man's pitiful inadequacy at such a time. An epilogue documents the poignant Lincoln, Garfield, and McKinley. If there is no progress, neither is there retrogression.

LOUIS M. STARR



From "A Nation Grieved"

ELECTRONIC JOURNALISM. By William A. Wood. Columbia University Press, New York. \$4.00.

Amid complaints about commercial television, too little is said of the extraordinary enterprise of many television news operations. This book, by a television veteran and a colleague at Columbia's Graduate School of Journalism, does much to right that wrong. It cites case after case of important pioneering by local television stations. Also, it traces the history of broadcast journalism, deals with the development of the documentary, notes expanded emphasis on news by networks and stations, covers the broadcast editorial, and generally gives commercial broadcasting high marks in the public affairs field.

Indeed, the book is sometimes too fulsome in its praise, too indiscriminately non-critical, and even a bit wide-eyed. The author comes close to acknowledging this in his preface: "Readers will find this for the most part a favorable report on television journalism and on the men responsible for it. This is because the author sincerely believes that a favorable report is merited."

Professor Wood seems right in crediting television journalism for staying away from the kind of sensationalism that once blighted much print journalism. He is right in praising the several score of stations that maintain full-sized news staffs (running from 16 to 100), stations that attempt significant documentaries even in relatively small markets, and television's spectacular performance in such cases as the Kennedy assassination.

He is open to challenge for being too indiscriminate in his expressions of admiration, for seeming to brush over the fact that, by his own estimate, some 50 per cent of American television stations are not doing a good job in news, and for seeming to oversimplify complex issues. An example is his unquestioning acceptance of surveys indicating that the public gets most of its news from television — ignoring the fact that equally reputable researchers, using differently worded questions, reach opposite conclusions, and that sophisticated survey specialists are not satisfied as yet with either type of finding (see *CJR*, Winter, 1966-1967). At least, the author provides balance by citing the most common criticisms of commercial television journalism and dealing with them at least briefly. Incidentally, the cliché-ish title is unfortunate; as the author himself states, the book deals only tangentially with radio journalism.

EDWARD W. BARRETT

Report on reports

The following are summaries and reviews of articles and other current material dealing with journalism. They were prepared by the editor with assistance from the editorial staff.

"Controlling Crime News: Sense or Censorship?" by Robert M. Cipes. ATLANTIC MONTHLY, August, 1967.

A lawyer-writer examines the status of the free press-fair trial war in light of the recent debates over the American Bar Association's Reardon Committee report. (The report recommended a code that, among other things, would empower courts to punish the press for specified infractions through the contempt power.) The details of his analysis are perhaps less important than the astringent good sense of his repeated evaluation of the conflict as overrated. This is put as follows near the end of the article:

"The press says it is fighting for 'the public's right to know.' To know what? That Sam Sheppard slept with his lab technician, or that young Dr. Coppolino had an affair with Mrs. Farber? The very pettiness of most crime news, the poverty of examples of important exposures both suggest that somehow this whole press-bar fight has been inflated. Newsmen boast of their 'watchdog' function and cry about being 'muzzled,' but has anyone gotten down to examining the dog to see if it can really bite?"

In other words, as Cipes explains, the threat to the press as watchdog lies in the larger powers of the government, and there may be danger in letting the courtroom issue distract the press from its more important role of acting as a countervailing power.

"The Life and Death of a Great Newspaper," by Fred C. Shapiro. AMERICAN HERITAGE, October, 1967.

This survey of the 125-year history of the *New York Tribune* and its successor *New York Herald Tribune* could have been marred by bathos or by filiopietism. Shapiro, a writer for the *Tribune* in its last years and now at *The New Yorker*, looks

steadily at the record and, at points, illuminates the *Tribune's* last, lingering illness. (He reveals that a daughter of the original Whitelaw Reid insisted into the 1950's that the *Tribune* continue to repay money lent by the family to the paper before World War I, thus deepening the paper's final financial crisis.)

It is possible to quarrel both with the balance of this article—too much attention seems to be given to the three Greeley decades—and to the interpretation that the paper's "Cain and Abel" relationship with the printer's union was the key to its death. But any such flaws are far outweighed by the asset of having in print a reliable, detailed account of the whole saga that came so anticlimactically to an end in 1966.

"Pause, Now, and Consider Some Tentative Conclusions About the Meaning of this Mass Perversion Called Porno-Violence: What It Is and Where It Comes From and Who Put the Hair on the Walls," by Tom Wolfe. ESQUIRE, July, 1967.

In *Esquire's* special section on violence, which is decorated with photographs of real and staged atrociousness, Tom Wolfe offers a piece of straight text. He finds that the "violence press"—*The National Enquirer* and its imitators—is being outdone by the straight publishers. Such headlines as "He Strangles Old Woman and Smears Corpse with Syrup, Ketchup and Oatmeal . . ." are giving way somewhat to (in Wolfe's term) "plain old lust-o-lech sex."

The author theorizes that such ventures as the interminable and detailed examinations of the five seconds of the Kennedy assassination, such literature as Truman Capote's *In Cold Blood*, and, above all, such television fare as westerns have left the *Enquirer* type of publication little to purvey. He argues that "the TV viewpoint is nearly always that of the man who is going to strike" and that "there are not nearly so many masochists as sadists among those little devils whispering into your ears."

Further, he enunciates a familiar but persuasive theory of the uses of violence: "Violence is the simple, ultimate solution for problems of status competition, just as gambling is the simple, ultimate solution for economic competition. The old pornography was the fantasy of easy sexual delights in a world where sex was kept unavailable. The new

pornography [violence] is the fantasy of easy triumph in a world where status competition has become so complicated and so frustrating."

"Ethics and the Press," THE WALL STREET JOURNAL, July 25, 1967.

This unsigned "News Roundup," mentioned briefly in the summer *Review*, deserves formal notice here for its epochal character. In fact, the magazine *America* recommended that the story receive a Pulitzer Prize (an eventuality that would certainly show a hitherto concealed penchant for self-flagellation among the Advisory Board members).

The story covers a broad range of spongy ethics, concluding that "practices endangering—and often subverting—newspaper integrity are more common than the man on the street might dream." It gets down to a multiplicity of cases:

¶ The *Chicago Tribune's* apparent squelching of an exposure of illegal truck-licensing as an aid in getting state funds for the rebuilding of burned-down McCormick Place in Chicago—a site of honorific significance to the *Tribune*. W. D. Maxwell, editor of the *Tribune*, wrote a letter of rebuttal to the *Journal*, but the *Journal* stood by its story.

¶ The dismissal of a "research bureau" of reporters on the *Boston Herald* (now *Herald-Traveler*) after its first crime investigation bumped into a stockholder of the Herald-Traveler Corporation.

¶ The blackout until July by other Philadelphia papers of news about Harry Karafin, the *Inquirer* reporter accused of blackmail and extortion (discussed in the spring and summer, 1967, issues of the *Review*).

¶ Acceptance by reporters of jobs or money that compromise their news work. Most of these are unnamed, but Bob Considine is criticized for narrating a film for Ford while writing a pro-manufacturer column.

Considine also replied to the *Journal*, defending his record as an advocate of automobile safety.

¶ The widespread use by newspapers of paid-for business "news," and the individual case (uncovered by *Cervi's Journal*) of the *Denver Post's* embarrassing commitment to provide a set ratio of news matter to ads for a shopping center.

All told, the story is a remarkable compendium that performs the service of bringing into the open

much that has been heretofore confined to discussion at newspapermen's bars. Possibly some will find it too harsh; almost certainly, others will know of numerous other bad examples. In any case, the survey shows that newspapermen cannot simply assume that the bad old days have been supplanted by a millenium.

Footnote: The story says: "All newspapers, including this one, must cope with the blandishments and pressures of special interests... on some papers the trouble starts at the top."

Not long after the story appeared, the *Review* received from an anonymous sender a copy of a message sent from the *Journal's* New York office concerning the July 26 issue, the day after the appearance of the ethics story. The message announced that a story concerning a strike at a Maryland plant of the *Journal* must be run as received, ahead of the editorial page, but behind pages two and three. "Don't (repeat not) display it prominently," the message warned. The temptation to tamper is great.

"A Day in the Life," by Michael J. Arlen. THE NEW YORKER, September 30, 1967.

"Television and the Press in Vietnam; or, Yes, I Can Hear You Very Well—Just What Was It You Were Saying?" by Michael J. Arlen. THE NEW YORKER, October 21, 1967.

The able broadcasting critic of *The New Yorker* went far beyond the usual summons of duty when he undertook this chronicle of a day's work in Viet Nam of John Laurence, a CBS correspondent. Laurence chose on this day to ride the truck convoy to the besieged outpost of Con Thien. With complete self-effacement, Arlen describes the very considerable hazards faced by Laurence and his two-man crew under shelling and ambush. (In fact, Laurence finished his day with a slight wound in the hand.) This report from the scene confirms Arlen's contention in an earlier article (May 27, 1967) that "there are good men who work for television trying to tell us about the war... Lord knows there are mighty few other people on television who seem to be trying."

Arlen's second article from Saigon, much more general and much more discursive, expresses fear that journalism from the war area has "too often told us only what we thought we wanted to hear." It should be studied.

FOLLOW-UP

Hutchins Commission: responses

The material below discusses the appraisal of the twenty-year-old Hutchins Commission Report that appeared in the summer issue. The first comment is by Arthur E. Rowse, author of *Slanted News* (1952) and a newspaper columnist on consumer affairs. His "Consumer News: a Mixed Report" appeared in the spring, 1967, *Review*.

The *Columbia Journalism Review* deserves one of its own laurels for reprinting the essence of the controversial Hutchins Report and attempting to assess its impact twenty years after publication. But the *Review* also deserves a handful of darts for going to press with such a shallow and disjointed set of comments. The nation's most serious study of the press calls for more from its chief student.

At the risk of being tabbed a critic of the critics of the critique, I would like to contribute a few facts and comments for consideration before the next interval of soul-searching arrives.

In the first place, the choice of commentators left out some rather distinguished critics of press performance. Nothing can be gained by having people like Gannett's Paul Miller say there is nothing wrong with the press. I, for one, would like to read the views of Louis Lyons, Norman Isaacs, Carl Lindstrom, Ben Bagdikian, William L. Rivers, and even that *enfant terrible*, Robert M. Hutchins. Many of the comments were excellent, particularly the preface by the *Review's* editor. But many others missed the mark or were missing entirely.

Antitrust matters, for example, were passed over much too lightly in the section on "What Can Be Done By Government." The fact is that government action in the antitrust field has been too little and too late to prevent the loss of newspaper competition in 96 per cent of American cities. Such a dismal record does not call for praise of government efforts from anyone, especially from Raymond B. Nixon, who has compiled many of the sad statistics. The

Hutchins Report itself quoted Nixon as finding only 117 cities with competing papers in 1945. Since then, the number has dwindled to sixty-four, including about twenty-five "competing" dailies with joint operating arrangements.

Chain ownership also should be mentioned. According to Professor Bryce W. Rucker of Southern Illinois University, the number of chain-owned dailies increased during the same period from 368 to 871, an annual increase of 46 per cent.

Contrary to Nixon's view, the Federal Communications Commission has not been "helpful," except to bring about further concentration of communications media by local newspaper monopolies. As a result of FCC preference for applicants with news-handling experience, newspapers have acquired control of many local broadcasting outlets. Rucker figures that newspapers now own 10 per cent of all AM radio stations, 14 per cent of all FM stations, 18 per cent of AM-FM combinations, and 30 per cent of all television stations.

Any discussion of what the government can do should include some mention of hearings by the House Antitrust Subcommittee in 1963 and the Senate Antitrust Subcommittee this past summer and the reasons for them. The House probe was prompted by the merger of newspapers in Los Angeles. Testimony brought out that the Justice Department had quietly approved the simultaneous reduction of Hearst and Chandler papers from four to two in 1962. The subcommittee's efforts to dig deeper were frustrated by the Department's concurrent investigation of activities and policies of the Los Angeles Publishers Association. As a result, the subcommittee probe ended with several important witnesses rendered mute and the full story of Los Angeles never made public.

It was not until last year that the Justice Department decided to get tough with the *Los Angeles Times*, the biggest and most profitable newspaper in the country. This move — to void the sale of the *San Bernardino Sun-Telegram* to the *Times* — came after the *Times* and other big metropolitan papers had started to gobble up suburban papers.

This year's Senate hearings also emphasize the long-standing immunity of the press from antitrust

prosecution. When that immunity was broken by the government's suit to break up the joint newspaper operation in Tucson, the big powers of the press demanded that Congress formalize their immunity in this regard.

It may be true, as Nixon says, that the government's attempts to prevent rate gouging through forced combination selling of advertising has been "helpful." For some morning and evening combinations have shaved their advertising rate discounts since the *Kansas City Star* case was won by the government 10 years ago. But by then, effective competition had ended in Kansas City and most other cities with such combination papers.

An even more disturbing development, as Nixon notes, is the conglomerate merger in which a news outlet is swallowed by a large industrial complex of diversified firms. In the recent ABC-ITT affair, Justice again showed slow reaction time. It also showed how difficult it may be to stem this growing tide, particularly when it engulfs news organizations.

In other words, government antitrust action is relatively new in the news business. And the trend toward monopoly and chain ownership continues relentlessly toward ultimate perfection despite the now serious effort being made to stop it.

This only adds to the importance of ensuring the type of press criticism recommended by the Hutchins Report. Its section on "What Can Be Done By The Public" called for "a new and independent agency . . . independent of government and the press . . . to

appraise and report annually upon the performance of the press."

Obviously, this has not come to pass. And perhaps it shouldn't. Certainly, it would be difficult to show that the British Press Council, which fits this image, has improved a similar situation in that country.

Indeed, Harry Ashmore, the person chosen to comment on this matter in the *Review*, may personify the difficulty of achieving any progress in this direction. Here is a distinguished newspaper editor with the resources of a great foundation at his command. Yet, as he concedes, he has made no headway.

His failure here is enough to discourage many people, including Ashmore himself. But does it have to be the final answer? Could Ashmore and his colleagues have labored under some false assumptions? I suggest that they have. For example, I doubt:

¶ That, as Ashmore writes, "effective criticism can only come from those who are outside the media's immediate orbit and wholly independent of it."

¶ That the only place outside that orbit is the academic world.

¶ That somehow the academic community and philanthropic institutions are immune from the pressures that might prevent other organizations from analyzing the press objectively.

¶ That any council must be national in scope.

In regard to the first assumption, the fact is that the most effective criticism of the press has come — and will continue to come — from within the press.

Media ombudsmen

From a column in the St. Petersburg, Florida, Times of October 1, 1967, by Henrietta and Nelson Poynter, the paper's vice-president and president-publisher-editor, respectively:

Interest in what became known as the "Hutchins" report simmered down to such an extent that it's difficult to get hold of a copy today.

To monitor and appraise the thousands of broadcasting stations with their voluminous output, and the 10,000 weekly newspapers and 1,700 dailies was an impossible job in 1947, and it's even more formidable in 1967 because of the expansion of printed and broadcast material. No government agency can properly weigh the content or quality — or fairness — of what is printed and broadcast.

But we have the uneasy feeling that people

are reading and hearing more and understanding it less. This is dangerous to the institution of self-government, which must depend on an informed people if it is to be responsive to their needs. . . .

Academic institutions, in their pursuit of truth, should be the logical instruments to appraise the adequacy and fairness of the various media in their regions regarding the public issues of the day. A center or clearing house would probably be needed to provide the forms and experience on how to set up such local study units. Their reports are bound to get big play at least among those who are doing a responsible job. And intelligent, specific criticism will be read by offenders even though it doesn't get much publicity.

Such a network of unofficial media ombudsmen chapters just might bring reader-listeners closer together.

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The reason is simple: critics inside the press are the most knowledgeable and therefore the most likely to be heard by their confreres. The best and most consistent criticism of the news media today comes from working journalists who write for the *Columbia Journalism Review* and the *Bulletin* of the American Society of Newspaper Editors and those who used to write for *Nieman Reports* when it counted for something under Louis Lyons.

In describing his attempts to interest university officials in criticizing the press, Ashmore seems to ignore other possibilities, particularly the press itself. And he seems surprised to find that academicians face many of the same commercial pressures that editors and foundation officials face.

It also may be a mistake to visualize press criticism always on a national basis. After all, the news business is primarily local in nature. This is true for the management, the staff, the coverage, and, in most cases still, even the ownership of newspapers. And it is increasingly true for radio and television stations. With approximately 1,750 daily papers in the country and three times that many radio stations, it should be obvious that little meaningful appraisal can be done on a national basis. Television, magazines, and some aspects of radio and newspaper journalism could be subjected to national appraisal, of course, but the local angle may deserve priority.

In his comment, Nathan Blumberg suffers from the same false assumption that Ashmore falls into. Blumberg concludes that the call for "vigorous mutual criticism . . . can have meaning only in the context of a national board or council . . ."

Ashmore may have been traveling at too high an altitude in his associations with publishers and college presidents. The reluctance of many publishers to accept public criticism gracefully and the unwillingness of academicians to apply it should not bring an end to the quest for effective means of appraisal.

Most editors, I believe, are ready, willing, and uniquely able to undertake considerable self-appraisal. And in my opinion they are doing an increasing amount of it. This is occurring wherever editors gather, and it should be fostered rather than ignored.

This comes close to the Report's recommendation

that "members of the press engage in vigorous mutual criticism." To be sure, the "vigorous" stage has not yet been reached. For one thing, the ASNE could get serious about its code of ethics that has been gathering dust for nearly half a century. And publishers could learn — possibly at the school for them suggested by the late A. J. Liebling — how to accept press criticism gracefully.

One of the Report's most important recommendations was printed without any comment other than an excerpt from a Walter Lippmann speech. This was the call for more "competence, independence and effectiveness of editorial personnel."

This, unfortunately, is where many a paper has lost — and is losing — the battle. Despite substantial increases in recent years, newsroom salaries continue to lag far behind those of other less demanding pursuits. Possibly even more damaging than the low pay has been the disillusionment of young, idealistic reporters when they discover the true standards of ethics and quality of the press. The tremendous drain of talent away from newspapers, the basic news medium, undoubtedly has kept all media from improving any more than they have.

Despite this steady erosion of editorial competence, however, newspaper editors are still the only people capable of appraising the performance of the press with any degree of success. (Radio and television already are monitored by two forces that don't apply to newspapers: columnists and the FCC.)

Editors have just not been given enough opportunity to do so on a formal basis. I know of only one such occasion. That was a survey of political news coverage by forty-three New England dailies in the 1960 Presidential election. The survey was all-editor from start to finish. It was ordered by a convention of the New England Society of Newspaper Editors; it was conducted by active newspaper editors, and the critical report calling coverage "slow, sporadic, and slapdash" was accepted unanimously by the same association in convention.

The survey went beyond the usual procedure of counting column inches. It reported how each paper handled two key stories supplied by the wire services. This meant recording such things as headline size, headline wording, location of the story, choice of wire dispatch, and omission of any story as well as the length of ones used.

This kind of descriptive report on press coverage of controversial matters is being used to an increasing degree, notably by the *Review*. But a lack of inspiration and money has helped prevent any other

editors' association from emulating the New England study. Here is where the Fund for the Republic could come in handy — except for the fact that it, too, has been seeking funds in recent years. That completes the list of foundations interested in studying the press.

Several papers have found local press forums good investments. Such an approach is being pushed in four communities by the American Newspaper Guild's Mellett Fund. But that's not exactly a national movement.

So again we head toward a presidential election campaign and the prospect of a new wave of press criticism — but with no prospect of any formal survey of press coverage. In fact, interest in such a project seems to have reached a nadir since 1952.

Why? Could previous criticism have brought enough improvement in political reporting to take the edge off the quadrennial demands for press surveys?

That certainly is a happy thought.

ARTHUR E. ROWSE

The second comment is from the editor of the *Bend Bulletin* (Oregon):

Reading your 20-year review of the Hutchins report, I am left with the impression *CJR* doesn't feel the report really accomplished much. I may be in error. But if you have that feeling, I think you are wrong.

The accomplishments of the report were gained by osmosis, to be sure. There is no national commission on the press. But there are now two local press councils operating, in this city and in Redwood City, California. Those of us participating in the current experiments are hopeful something useful will come from them. There have been several other local attempts which have failed of meaningful accomplishment; we hope we may avoid their mistakes.

But at least in part as a result of Hutchins Report leadership, numerous retraction statutes have been adopted, speakers favoring revolutionary change in our institutions speak more freely almost everywhere, and government is more open, on the whole. I believe most "agencies of mass communication" welcome — and in some cases seek — "views different from their own." Radio and television have come a long way, in most cases, from past practice in clearly labelling their advertising matter. There has been a tremendous increase in the competence

of news staffs in every medium, and there is a continuing effort by many to increase that competence and effectiveness. Journalism education is better; at least its end product is better.

Some of this came from faculties which took parts of the Hutchins report to heart. Some came from competitive pressures. Some came from a natural desire on the part of many to do a better job. But in many cases it came because the commission report, or parts of it, struck a responsive chord with a number of now-aging Young Turks of the 1947 era.

ROBERT W. CHANDLER

This brief comment was received from a former chairman of the Federal Communications Commission:

The article, "The Hutchins Report: a Twenty-Year View," is a splendid and useful service. But the Report had more of an impact than Mr. Boylan perceives. For example, the opening of UHF television channels is in many respects a response to Recommendation 2 of the Report. While at the FCC, it was our purpose to open more and more channels of broadcasting. With more channels, there is a corresponding need for less regulation.

I also believe that the Carnegie Commission Study and the movement toward the Public Broadcasting Corporation are responsive to other recommendations of the Report. The Report extended and enlarged previous debate and discussion about the mass media. Like pebbles thrown in a stream, the resulting impact on the current is unceasing.

NEWTON N. MINOW

Canned opinion

An editorial in the summer *Review* commented on the Federal Communications Commission decision to apply the fairness doctrine to broadcast cigarette advertising. The editorial noted that the broadcasting industry had reacted sharply to the ruling. It appears now that the industry even went to the extraordinary length of appealing for support from newspaper editorial pages. In August, the *Review* received a letter from David A. Yuenger, editor of the *Green Bay Press-Gazette*, in which was enclosed a notice from the National Association of Broadcasters to its membership that read as follows:

Many newspapers across the country are joining with broadcasters in opposition to the FCC ruling

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on cigarette commercials. However, much greater editorial opposition is needed.

HAVE THE NEWSPAPERS IN YOUR AREA POINTED OUT TO THE PUBLIC EDITORIALLY THE DANGERS OF THE FCC RULING?

We urge that you discuss this matter with your local newspapers if they have not editorialized on this issue, which transcends competitive rivalries. Media need to close ranks against this ruling which could threaten all advertising.

Enclosed is a sampling of 83 editorials reflecting the ratio of support we have tallied thus far. Seventy-seven oppose the FCC action; six favor it.

Mr. Yuenger's letter said:

I received the brochure from the general manager of a Green Bay television-radio complex. He did not suggest that we run an editorial although I'm sure the implication was clear by the mere fact that he sent it to me.

As I rapidly scanned the various editorials, I sensed that certain phrases and then sentences had a similar ring. I then checked more closely and, alas, found that many of the newspapers had the same "sample" editorials without so much as a word, punctuation, or even the editorial head changed.

Can we assume that all the editors who used the same editorials (I hate to say for a self-serving purpose) were exercising their individual editorial judgment on a very serious question in the public interest? In charity, I suppose we can assume they all agreed with the point of view, the phraseology, and the conclusions of the editorials they received from an outside source and, thus, they felt no need for rewrite. The reader, of course, might logically assume that the "anonymous" editorial writer on the newspaper he subscribes to really is stating the opinion of that newspaper and not that of the National Association of Broadcasters.

The issue, as stated by NAB, may indeed "transcend competitive rivalries" but it seems to me that newspapers should exercise more responsibility than is shown in their use of such canned editorials.

All of us in the profession take picks on critics of newspapers. The use of canned editorials, it seems to me, just gives the critics more material on which to base their claims that we're not fulfilling our responsibilities to the public. This is especially true on matters of public interest such as the proposed FCC ruling. Maybe I'm overstating the case in my personal, perhaps biased, amazement that so many

papers, including some of so-called metropolitan status, apparently felt it was easier to run somebody else's editorials than to state their own positions in their own words even though their conclusions may well have corresponded with the NAB position.

After hearing from Mr. Yuenger, the *Review* began inquiries to determine the origins of the duplicated editorials. One that was reproduced in five papers, all of the Scripps-Howard group, was attributed to the Washington bureau of the Scripps-Howard Newspaper Alliance. Another, appearing in eight small dailies, was traced to The Alburn Bureau of Tucson, Arizona.

Two of the editors who responded commented on their use of the unattributed "canned" editorials:

William D. Behling, executive editor, *Beloit Daily News*: "... we do not use Alburn Bureau or any other editorial service extensively. The great majority of our editorials are of our own doing."

Herbert A. Meyer, Jr., editor and publisher, *Independence Daily Reporter* (Kansas): "When I am out of town, on vacation or otherwise unable to get an editorial into type we occasionally rely on The Alburn Bureau. . . . For a while we so labeled these editorials but this seemed to confuse more than clarify the fact that it was a canned editorial, so we dropped this practice. We also take the liberty of making any changes we feel necessary to conform to our own editorial policy."

The *Review* received the following response to its inquiry to The Alburn Bureau:

We supply an editorial service to newspapers in the United States, and have clients in almost every state. Most of our clients are small- or medium-sized dailies (the range is from little fellows up to around 100,000), and we also have a few weeklies on our list.

Our material is editorial comment on a very wide range of subject matter. Aside from the restraints of libel and taste, we have no taboos excepting overtly partisan comment on political matters. We do not cut our cloth to anyone's pattern, but write entirely on the basis of our own viewpoint and judgment; the rationale is that, as we supply clients with a large amount of copy, they can discard what they do not like — and if they get to discarding too much, of course, they drop the service. We do not write on assignment; most particularly, we grind no axe for any organization, commercial or otherwise. Our Editorial Service is intended as a supplement to local staff output, and also as a sort of backstop in times of staff emergency or doldrums.

Your question is, "Did the editorial in question originate in your bureau or was it supplied from an-

other source, such as the broadcast industry?" We take full responsibility, as we do for every piece we send out. We never, under any circumstances, supply our clients with material from any outside source, though of course we use many sources as background for our thinking. Specifically, this editorial about the FCC action originated with us, and with reference to this matter we had no contact with the broadcasting industry. I note in passing that FCC Commissioner Lee Loevinger has expressed some reservations about the possible legal questions in this ruling, and it is this that concerns us.

LEO SONDEREGGER
Director

A further observation on the prevalence of canned editorials came in a speech by Frank E. Smith, a director of the Tennessee Valley Authority, before the annual meeting of the National Conference of Editorial Writers on October 6:

This would be a dull speech if I confined my remarks to the glorious editorials and their writers who have praised TVA. The greater problem in my experience has been with canned editorials and the editorials which, for refusal to recognize facts readily available, are inaccurate. We made a quick check of our clippings before I came over here — and this is an extensive, if not necessarily scientific, sampling of the nation's press — and we found that of 125 editorials unfavorable to TVA, published since January 1, seventy-five were canned.

Last spring there appeared editorials, or an editorial, entitled "That Two-Foot 'Yardstick' Again," in newspapers in Altoona, Pennsylvania; Henderson, North Carolina; Lynchburg, Virginia; Dover, New Hampshire; Helena, Montana; Panama City, Florida; and many others. It was a comment upon a statement by TVA that the electric consumers in the TVA area paid about \$252 million less in a year for electricity than they would have paid at the average rates prevailing in the United States.

This statement, may I hasten to say, is certainly a legitimate subject for editorial comment, whether favorable or unfavorable. But the newspaper reader is entitled to believe, and usually does believe, that an editorial represents the independent opinion of the editor or, if not, that it will be attributed to the proper source.

Only one editor indicated the "Yardstick" editorial was not his own creation, attributing it to the *Industrial News Review*, which is the respectable sounding name for the editorial canning factory

operated by E. Hofer & Sons, Portland, Oregon, for the past half century.

The Hofer firm sends out weekly batches of editorials free to newspapers, all over the country. And if the editors don't pay for them, who does? Well, Hofer is "supported financially by industry, business and professions, including public utilities..." How much support? Figures are hard to come by, but way back in the 1920's a Federal Trade Commission investigation revealed that even then the utilities alone were contributing \$85,000 a year to the Hofer kitty.

I am aware of the arguments for using such canned material as that put out by Hofer; it may accurately reflect the views of the editor and it saves time and literary effort. But the fact remains that it is paid propaganda, subtly introduced as independent opinion and aimed as much at "educating" the editor as the general public.

The article below discusses further the problems of legislative coverage assessed in Paul Hoffman's "The Neglected Statehouse" in the summer issue.

Illinois: good guys and bad

By DOUGLAS N. KANE

In their coverage of the Illinois General Assembly, the Chicago newspapers use the brush more often than the camera. The finished likenesses reflect as much the personalities of the artists as the features of the model.

In the interests of simplicity it can be said that each of the four major Chicago dailies approaches the legislature basically in one of two ways: politically or morally.

The political point of view is best seen in the *Chicago Tribune*, which has been the voice of conservative Illinois Republicanism and part of the state's power structure since the nineteenth century. In the *Tribune's* news columns and editorials, the struggles in the state capital are between Republicans and Democrats. Although there is never any

Douglas N. Kane, a reporter, worked as a legislative staff intern during the Seventy-Fourth Illinois General Assembly under a University of Illinois-Ford Foundation program.

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doubt which side the *Tribune* is on, that is not of major importance. More important, the *Tribune* reports events in the context of a two-party system.

The moral approach is taken by the *Sun-Times*, the *Daily News*, and *Chicago's American*. For them the legislative struggle is not between parties but between good guys and bad guys, between advocates of good government and politicians, between independents and party hacks, between right and evil.

The differences between the perspectives are readily apparent. In the *Tribune*, for example, "veteran legislator" is a term associated with experience, competence, hard work and power. On the other hand, the "blue ribbon" legislators of the 1965 session — new to politics, and swept into office only by reason of an at-large election — were described as amateurs who made mistakes, talked too much, and caused confusion.

For the "moral" newspapers, the blue ribboners, who included Earl Eisenhower and Adlai E. Stevenson III, were a fresh breeze in a cobwebbed chamber. These papers regard politicians as bribe-prone orators owned by special interests.

Next to reapportionment, legislation on ethics was given the most space in the 1965 session by all the major Illinois newspapers except the *Tribune*. The moral papers strongly supported the proposals. When one ethics bill was sent to a subcommittee, the *Sun-Times* reported in a long story: "Proposed legislation placing state employees under conflict-of-interest laws and a resolution for similar restrictions on legislators headed down the graveyard road here Tuesday. . . . Knowing, although rueful, smiles and laughs greeted the list of senators named . . . to the subcommittee which now has complete control of the proposals. . . ."

The *Tribune* showed little enthusiasm for ethics legislation. "Unfortunately integrity is just as hard to legislate as love," it argued editorially, and maintained that both the Senate and the House already had "plenty of powers to act against erring members."

In contrast to the *Sun-Times*, the *Tribune* reported the sending of the ethics bill to subcommittee in one paragraph buried in the middle of another story. When the committee approved the bills the next week the *Tribune's* story emphasized the prob-

lems they might create, the speed with which they were being passed, and the need for amendments.

In the last week of the session, when scandal broke over the dome of the capitol, the *Tribune* played the matter very quietly. The story began with publication in the *American* of a transcript of tape-recorded conversations among currency-exchange

Along with the pressure for conformity, Springfield has a therapeutic ritual . . . for getting back at the reporter who writes something that offends the sensibilities of a member. I was introduced to this ritual after only a few days in the Statehouse, when, because of a story I had written, the most influential member of the House took the floor on a "point of personal privilege." While I sat in the press box wondering what hole to crawl into, and while his 176 comrades either glared or chuckled, he commented at some length on my judgment, intelligence, integrity, breeding, and general disrespect toward public service. . . . These sessions occur periodically. To the everlasting honor of the Springfield press corps, anyone who does not have some pins stuck in him within a reasonable time is the subject of suspicion by his colleagues.—Tom Littlewood of the *Chicago Sun-Times*, "The Trials of Statehouse Journalism," *Saturday Review*, December 10, 1966.

lobbyists. It mentioned the names of several dozen legislators and state officials, the killing of a bill in the House banking committee, and \$30,000.

The *Tribune* carried only four relatively short stories on the incident. All dealt with official action taken in response to "charges."

The *American* blasted the story across eight columns on Page 1. "Secret Tapes Bare Story of Payoffs in Legislature — Hotel-Room Deals Make, Break Bills."

The story itself began, "Evidence of wholesale bribery in the Illinois legislature has been obtained by *Chicago's American*."

The *Daily News*, which had been campaigning against Secretary of State Paul Powell, weighed in with a five-column headline on Page 1: "Powell Named in Bribe Probe."

Being partial to the traditionalists in both parties, the *Tribune* had no use for the "neophyte." A Sunday magazine story bore this introduction:

"A lawmaking body operates with the collective experience of its members. The statewide contest for all 177 House seats replaced so many veterans with freshmen that there is now a deficiency in the

experience factor . . . To this writer, who has been watching sessions for 27 years, the air of confusion seems painfully evident. Far-reaching and far-out proposals have been pouring into the hopper as never before."

The same week, the *Daily News* ran a report card that showed a "powerful and almost unanimous verdict that the blue ribbon members are the best thing that has happened to the legislature in quite a while." The reporter wrote:

"Even the statistics are impressive. A total of 1,042 bills have been introduced so far in the House, nearly 350 more than at the same point last session and much of the increase is due to the energy of the newcomers. . . . The newcomers also, it was widely agreed, have brought a new atmosphere of integrity to the House and have set the moral tone of the whole session."

"Moral tone" is difficult to verify, but statistics can be checked. Of the 1,042 bills introduced, only 140 were from the seventy-four freshmen. Or, to say it another way, the freshmen, who made up 41.8 per cent of the House membership, had introduced 13.4 per cent of the bills. The origin of the increase lay elsewhere.

The *Tribune* never mentioned the antics and personal habits of the more exuberant legislators, but the "moral" newspapers had fun with them. Their "color" stories were typically written by reporters and columnists after brief visits to Springfield. Their attitudes were usually scornful.

The most ambitious such story was "Springfield à Go Go," written by the wife of the *American's* political reporter. Her story, published in the Sunday magazine under a fictitious byline, began:

There's something in the Springfield air that makes legislators cling to the state capital like fleas to a possum. . . . For Springfield is a rollicking spot. . . . Most are out every night, eating the ritual rare steak, drinking all the lovely booze, and singing, singing, singing. . . . And how they drink! A man trying to stay sober in Springfield could be hard-pressed. . . . When a legislator comes through a door of a night spot, the lobbyists flutter like pigeons in a loft. . . . By the time the average legislator sits down, four drinks have been ordered for everyone at his table.

The performance of the newspapers in covering the substantive issues of the session was spotty. As a general rule, the more involved and the more complicated the subject the worse the coverage.

The best, or worst, example of this was the state

budget, which went over four billion dollars for the first time. Adlai E. Stevenson, when he was Governor of Illinois, made the remark: "I was hopeful that some papers would make a serious effort to analyze and explain in simple terms the state budget. I am sorry to say that in Illinois there was little save the usual epithets and criticisms of budget increases."

The criticism was largely absent in the 1965 session, but so was any serious effort to analyze.

The big development in the budget story came late in June, when W. Russell Arrington, the Senate Republican leader, announced that the Democratic-proposed tax increase would be cut by \$206.9 million and spending would be cut by \$62 million.

Of six major newspapers—the *Tribune*, the *Sun-Times*, the *Daily News*, the *Peoria Journal-Star*, the *Decatur Herald*, and the *Illinois State Register* in Springfield—only three bothered to dig out and compare the expected revenues from the Democratic and Republican tax plans. None of the three got the figures correct. The *Decatur Herald* was off by \$74 million. All except the *Daily News* accepted the \$62 million cut at face value. Two papers did not mention the cuts at all. The *Illinois State Register* said all \$62 million was coming from the budgets of six executive departments, when in fact only about \$8 million was. No paper picked up the fact that \$27 million of the "cut" was simply a transfer from one program to another.

Of the problems described here, the inadequacy of news reporting is perhaps the easiest to overcome. It is basically a staffing problem. The Chicago papers send no more than three men apiece to Springfield to cover legislative sessions. The "bureaus" must not only keep track of 3,500 bills winding their ways through the Senate and House, but also cover the Governor's office, the innumerable executive agencies, and the State Supreme Court. There is just no time for the reporter, even if he wishes, to sit back and contemplate the significance of the activity whirling around him.

The warping perspective will be harder to eliminate. It has its roots in the time-honored history of each paper. It must be changed, however, because neither the political nor the moral approach to covering government is adequate. The first inevitably turns news into propaganda that loses its believability for all but those already convinced. The second leads to witch hunts and to a degrading of the political process.

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Statehouse coverage

The following material relates to an article by Paul Hoffman of the *New York Post* in the summer issue. "The Neglected Statehouse" described problems and deficiencies of state-government coverage in New York. This response comes from Robert G. Fichenberg, executive editor of *The Knickerbocker News* of Albany:

As the editor of one of the two Albany newspapers mentioned by Paul Hoffman in his article I take sharp issue with what I regard as a slipshod piece of reporting.

In his article, Mr. Hoffman said: "In contrast with the situation in most state capitals, neither the Albany *Knickerbocker News* nor the *Times-Union* is a 'journal of record' for state government. The capital's papers, both Hearst-owned, provide only minimal coverage, relying on the wire services for state news."

It's obvious to me from this paragraph alone that Mr. Hoffman doesn't read Albany's newspapers. If he had read *The Knickerbocker News*, for instance, even casually on a regular basis, he would have noted that our paper devotes its entire page 3, plus parts of other pages, the year round to state government news. During the annual legislative session, much of the first section of the paper is devoted to news of the state government.

As far as staffing is concerned, three of our reporters are assigned to state government coverage on a fulltime basis. One has general responsibility for the governor's office, state politics, and investigative reporting. Another covers a number of state agencies. The third is responsible for coverage of several

agencies, plus backgrounders, interpretives, news features, and other stories emphasizing the "what does-this-mean-to-you" angle to the reader. In addition, two other reporters (general government and education) are dealing with state government at least half of their time. At any time, we might have as many as six or seven reporters working on state government-related stories. Hardly "minimal coverage."

Moreover, of course, we have the full services of The Associated Press, United Press International, and the fine Gannett News Service Albany staff. We use the two major wire services for the routine day-to-day coverage and the product of the Gannett News Service staff for their consistently sharp interpretives. This leaves our own capital staff freer for more digging, more investigative reporting, which they produce in abundance. Two of our three Capital Hill reporters regularly write columns on state government topics and the third contributes an occasional column. No other paper in the state, including *The New York Times*, comes close to matching this coverage.

It was *The Knickerbocker News'* Arvis Chalmers, for instance, who several years ago broke the legislative payroll padding stories that created consternation on the hill, and a sensation around the state. They led to a new system of regular annual disclosure of salaries of legislative employees. It was Mr. Chalmers who earlier this year broke the story revealing that the chief counsel to Assembly Speaker Anthony J. Travia, who also was president of the 1967 State Constitutional Convention, had been paid a retainer by a union that was lobbying against a bill providing penalties for strikes by public employees. These are just two examples of the dozens of pieces of hard-hitting investigative reporting in

The Knickerbocker News in recent years. If Mr. Hoffman had been reading *The Knickerbocker News* regularly, he would have seen them.

In his one bit of indirect praise for our paper, he again was inaccurate. He wrote: "It has become physically impossible for a reporter to cover the Albany 'beat' and he lacks the face-to-face contact necessary to keep on top of the news. Only one reporter—Arvis Chalmers of *The Knickerbocker News*—regularly covers the state agencies. The others rely on handouts and an occasional telephone call."

I wish I could say thanks. But Mr. Hoffman, who certainly should know better in this particular instance since he presumably is a competitor of Mr. Chalmers, is wrong again. Mr. Chalmers is indeed a fine reporter, but his responsibility is not regular coverage of state agencies—we have two other reporters on that assignment. Mr. Chalmers' responsibilities are for covering state politics and state government at the highest levels and this assignment brings him into contact with the state agencies as frequently or as seldom as the situation demands.

Finally, I can't resist pointing out the fact that the paper which Mr. Hoffman represents in the state capital not only provides laughingly skimpy state government coverage to its audience in the largest and most sophisticated city in New York State and the nation; it doesn't even pretend to cover its own city.

MR. HOFFMAN REPLIES:

Mr. Fichenberg merely confirms what I stated. He admits *The Knickerbocker News* has only three reporters regularly assigned to state government—though the Legislative Correspondents' Association, which accredits reporters to the Legislature, the Constitu-

tional Convention, and state departments, lists only two. Two or three—I would consider that “minimal coverage.” He also admits his heavy reliance on the wire services.

But this reliance does not free the *Knick News* staff for “more digging, more investigative reporting.” In the two weeks following Mr. Fichenberg’s letter, the only staff-generated stories of state government were routine, day-to-day accounts.

On September 15—the day after Mr. Fichenberg sent his letter—the *Knick News*’s lead story was a UPI account of the judiciary vote at the Constitutional Convention. This was the first event of the convention to “break” on deadline for the *Knick News*’s first edition. But it did not have a reporter on hand, three blocks from its office.

On September 20, the *News* front-paged another UPI story, giving its readers their first glimpse of the “gift and loans” controversy, which had torn apart the Constitutional Convention in its closing days. The *New York Post* had the story a week before. Obviously, Mr. Fichenberg does not read the *Post*.

By the way, I read the *Knick News* (and the *Times-Union*) every day I’m in Albany. I echo Mr. Fichenberg’s praise of Arvis Chalmers and I stand by my statement that he’s the only reporter in town who regularly covers state departments and agencies.

I made no comment about my own or my paper’s coverage of state government in my article, though obviously they were included in my general survey. Mr. Fichenberg’s gratuitous remark is like shouting “So’s your old man!” It has nothing to do with the issue.

I don’t intend—for reasons both of modesty and discretion—to get into that issue here. But I can cite the *Village Voice* in its regular review of the press (Aug. 17, 1967): “The best coverage—by far—of the state Constitutional Convention has been by Paul Hoffman of the *Post*.”

I would like to correct one statement in my article. Since it appeared, I have been informed that several newspapers carried brief

first-cycle accounts of the Legislature’s failure to act on Governor Rockefeller’s request to cut parimutuel taxes. (*The New York Times* had a box on the sports page.) The only story that caught the full implications of the action was in the daily racing journal, *The Morning Telegraph*.

The *Review* received the following letter from Howard Jay Friedman, director of public information and publications for the State of Florida’s Department of Education in Tallahassee:

For the record: It may well be true that the conclusions of Paul Hoffman “may apply equally to Michigan or Minnesota, New Hampshire or Nevada”—but they certainly do not apply to Florida. Here there is an imposing lineup of reporters covering the state capitol, quartered in the basement immediately under the governor’s office on a day-by-day basis throughout the year. It includes three full-time men and a photographer for The Associated Press, an identical staff for United Press International, and reporters representing nearly every major Florida newspaper.

The *Tampa Tribune* and *Today* (Cocoa Beach), moreover, have created a combined capitol news service, pooling their reporters’ efforts and exchanging stories. The *Miami Herald* and the *St. Petersburg Times* have formed a similar team.

The electronic media are also on the job, scurrying through the capitol with specially designed camera carts (an invention of George Thurston of WJXT-TV, Jacksonville). In all, five full-time men representing nine television stations and numerous radio stations are on hand.

It should be understood that this large news staff has not been the product of the flamboyant man who now occupies the governor’s office; it has been present for the last fifteen years.

Other letters

TO THE REVIEW:

Your summer *Review*, as always, is most interesting, especially, to staff members here, the article on some of the South’s newspapers [“Newspapers of the South,” by Roger M. Williams]. For the record, though, the only editions of the *Times-Dispatch* available here show that we carried the Skelly Wright decision on District of Columbia school segregation with a four-column two-line 42 pt. head at the top of an inside wire news page along with a seven-inch sidebar about local legal reaction to the decision. Your box might have pointed out that front pages that day were dominated by stories about the Israeli-Arab war and the related United Nations discussions.

JOHN E. LEARD
Managing editor
Richmond Times-Dispatch

EDITOR’S NOTE: The editors of the *Review*, not the author of the article, were responsible for the survey of Southern newspaper coverage of the Wright decision. They regret that they overlooked the story in the *Times-Dispatch* and erroneously listed that newspaper as failing to cover the story.

TO THE REVIEW:

Your editorial reference in the summer issue to “Wallace Butts of the University of Alabama” must have been a Freudian slip.* It was precisely this implication—that Coach Butts was in the hire of the University of Alabama—that got *The Saturday Evening Post* soaked for two fat libel judgments.

Butts was, of course, the athletic director at the University of Georgia at the time the *Post* ran the story accusing him of smuggling football secrets to Coach Paul W. Bryant of the rival University of Alabama. Bryant settled out of

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court for \$300,000 tax-free, but Butts went to trial and won a \$460,000 judgment. The *Post* appealed on the grounds that Butts was a "public figure" as defined in the *Sullivan* case of 1963, which held that a public official, in court to collect libel damages, must prove that the publication had acted with "actual malice or a reckless disregard for the truth."

Also, I can't buy your interpretation that the Supreme Court gave "ambiguous guidance" in upholding the Butts verdict while reversing the judgment General Edwin Walker won against The Associated Press for its reporting of the Old Miss rioting.

As I read those cases, the Court was only applying the *Sullivan* rule, holding on the one hand that the AP was not malicious or reckless in reporting Walker's actions, but that *The Saturday Evening Post* was indeed reckless in printing a story based on extremely flimsy information without even so much as consulting the accused men. Hence, the rule may be ambiguous—in that it obliges juries and judges to arrive at definitions of imprecise words such as "malice" or "recklessness"—but it doesn't appear that the Court was ambiguous in its application. It merely said that the shoe fit in one case, but didn't in the other.

RAY JENKINS
Alabama Journal
Montgomery

*Not Freudian, just a fumble.—ED.

TO THE REVIEW:

I see on page 4 of the summer issue that you gave *The Chicago Tribune*, the newspaper for which I work, a dart for dropping Elia Kazan's *The Arrangement* from its best-selling-fiction list. Interestingly enough, the very first issue of

our new *Book World*, which is published jointly with *The Washington Post*, listed *The Arrangement* right up there in the No. 2 spot.

SEARLE E. HAWLEY, JR.
Chicago

TO THE REVIEW:

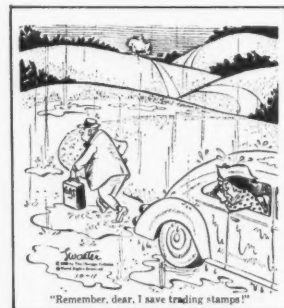
Following your winter and fall, 1966, editions, which pointed out in "the lower case" pages the



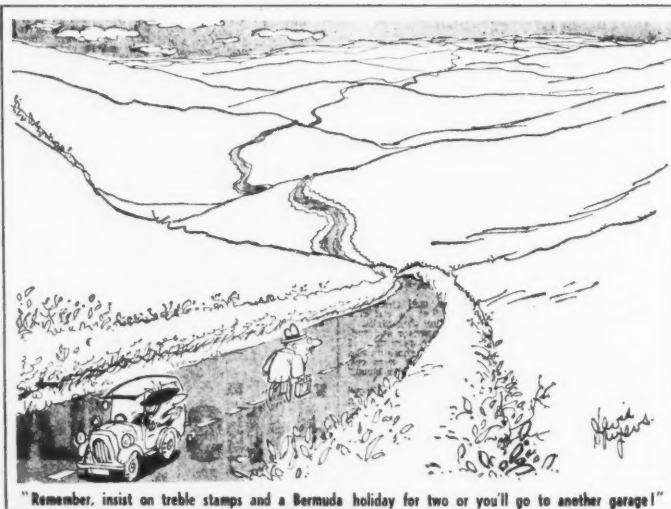
This Week,
November 28, 1965



Wall Street Journal,
November 26, 1965



New York News,
October 11, 1966



London Evening News, March 3, 1967

similarity between three cartoons, I belatedly enclose a clip from London's *Evening News*.

The four cartoons together illustrate that cartoons are like the Bible. The Bible never changes, nor do cartoons.

It is of course obvious to all fair-minded men that all four cartoonists hit upon the same idea independently. Perish any other unworthy thought.

Examining the time sequence of the cartoons, it is interesting that the later the cartoon appears, the more unnecessary detail is put into it. And the more detail, verbally and pictorially, the less effective the cartoon is.

ROGER CARROLL
London

My interview

If American newspapers have trouble getting and keeping good men, my brief case history may help explain why. The point is not that one paper missed a good man in me, but that the reasons for excluding me no doubt exclude many good men from many papers.

My appointment was with the man in charge of hiring editorial personnel for several papers. He was imposing, but not forbidding. Lightly tanned, dignified lines in a square face, gray eyes, steel-gray hair brushed straight back. He would have looked powerful if he had had prominent eyebrows.

"Good morning," I said. "My name is Philip Sheehan, and I'm here to see about a job on one of your newspapers."

"Have a seat," he said, "and we'll talk it over." His voice was quiet, but not weak; like the eyebrows, it was a minor disappointment.

I had done television and magazine work for about eight years, and explained to him why I thought I could do newspaper work.

"Have you ever done any newspaper work?"

"No. I thought I made it clear that I was not a newspaperman, but would like to be one."

"I mean at all," he explained. "Didn't you work on a paper in high school or college?"

"Well, yes, I did, but I didn't count that. I worked on the high school paper, and for a while on the college paper."

"But you didn't stay with it?"

"My college career was interrupted by the Army, a wife, and several children. The last two years I didn't have much time for extra-curricular activities."

"You're still saying you didn't stay with it."

"No, I suppose I didn't."

"Let me tell you something: when I graduated from college, I had already worked on newspapers for seven years. I started out in newspaper work, and loved it, and stayed with it. You tried it, and obviously didn't love it."

I didn't think that was a reasonable comparison, and tried to tell him why without being insulting.

"If you really wanted to work on a paper," he said, "you would have been working on one before

now. I don't think you have the commitment you would need for a newspaper job."

"Possibly I don't have a commitment to newspapers. I do have a commitment to journalism—to the truth of what happens and to the clear expression of that truth. That's enough for many jobs."

"Well, it isn't the same thing. If you don't love newspapers, you wouldn't be much of a newspaperman."

The rest of the interview was boring, except for a few words on the subject of money.

"For us to give you as much money as you'd expect, we'd have to pay you more than some of the people who have been with us for years. That wouldn't be fair to them."

"It wouldn't be unfair if I'm better than they are."

"Well, I don't think you are. We had another fellow in here from television before, and he wasn't much good at all."

"Maybe he wasn't much good in television either."

"That may be, but we're suspicious of people from radio and television. They don't worry about spelling and punctuation, and we don't think they know much about it."

I had long before decided the interview was pointless, and now decided to end it. "What you mean is that you don't have any job that you would offer me."

"That's not true. We do have a few openings, but one of them was just filled. We had a young fellow in here, just finished graduate journalism school, and I bet he can write better now than you can."

I hadn't been asked to write anything, and no one had looked at my samples or called my references. I suggested that such a judgment, therefore, was a bit hasty.

"Possibly you can write," he allowed, "but I'd have to bet against it. And as I said, the salary is not in your range at all. This other lad now, he has his master's degree, and some years of experience, and we're giving him \$105 a week. And he's glad to get it."

I resisted the urge to tell him he had obviously hired a nitwit. I took the application form he offered, and said I would send it back with some samples when I got a chance.

I'm keeping it as a souvenir.

PHILIP SHEEHAN

the lower case

Floating freedom

1. An early edition of the Houston Chronicle for August 22, 1967, carried the offer below:



2. Apparently somebody noticed that "FREE" lay in North Viet Nam, and it disappeared in a later edition:



3. A week later, "FREE" turned up squarely in South Viet Nam:



4. But ultimately (September 5), it landed in Thailand:



Most fascinating news story of October

With apologies to The New Yorker department of approximately this nature, here is a story in its entirety from The New York Times, October 13, 1967:

R.I.P. for a Tug
HAMILTON, Bermuda (UPI) — After the British frigate *Leander* had sunk the scrapped tug *Justice* during a gunnery exercise,

We-knew-it-would-come-to-this department

Paragraph from a Saigon story in the Washington Evening Star, July 17, 1967:

Colon Hickory, a three-day U. S. and South Vietnamese sweep to clear out North Vietnamese troops southwest of the much-battered Marine post at Con Thien, ended with less than 100 enemy reporters killed.

2-Month Drive Ends

One North Vietnamese regiment about 2,500 men

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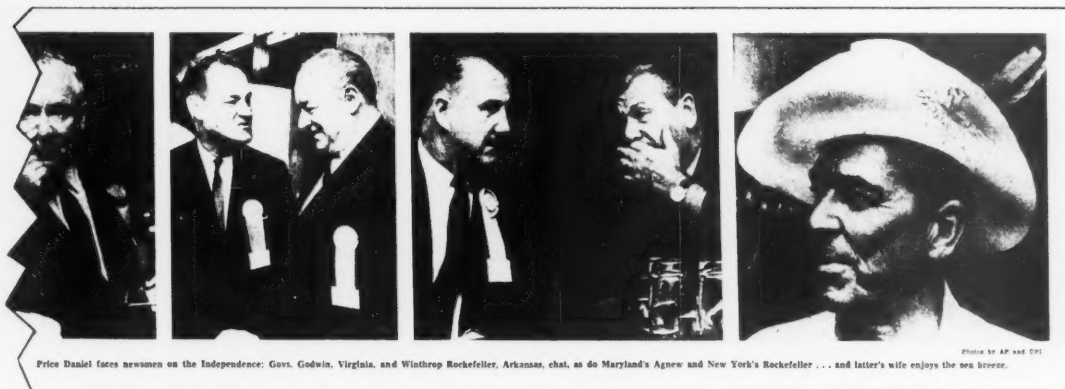
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The Washington Post, October 20, 1957 (corrected in final edition)



Scoop from St. Louis Globe-Democrat,
October 19, 1967

LANDS ON PLANET

***Soviet Spacecraft Finds
No Human Life on Venus***

Minneapolis Star, October 3, 1967 (typo for 135)

STILL IN INSTITUTION

***Deaf-Mute, Believed
Retarded, Has 35 IQ***

The Tampa Tribune, August 18, 1967

School Boss Says Kirk Sewed 'Crop of Shame'

The Houston Post, September 27, 1967
(woman referred to is Louise Day Hicks, opponent
of Negro pupil-busing):

***Negro Woman Wins
Boston Primary Race***

From the Seattle Post-Intelligencer, July 28, 1967

Obituaries

Fri., July 28, 1967

*Many persons died this week in and near
Seattle. And that accounts for the large num-
ber of obituaries appearing in this morning's
Post-Intelligencer.*

A CONCISE BARTLETT'S FOR JOURNALISTS

There is, at least, a residue of satisfaction in thinking that one did not always go the way of the crowd. A newspaperman walks with the great of many lands, but he must go his own way — right to the end of the road. — *Herbert L. Matthews, in his final column for The New York Times before retirement, August 31, 1967.*

[President Johnson] tries to make friends with the owners and publishers to make up for the fact that the working press doesn't like him.... But the working press shoots a thousand rounds of ammunition a day, and the publisher has only one big gun. — *Drew Pearson, address to Press Attachés Club, quoted in The Washington Post, October 4, 1967.*

Worshiping at the shrine of the moneyed clotheshorse by the American press is a curious aberration of the Sixties. — *Marylin Bender, in The Beautiful People (Coward-McCann, 1967).*

We are not \$100-a-week creeps. We are \$200-a-week creeps. — *Larry Merchant, New York Post, commenting on statement allegedly made by Joe Namath, quarterback, to a sports writer, quoted by Frederick Klein in The Wall Street Journal, October 6, 1967.*

There's one constant in every successful dramatic TV story form, and that's that the leading character's occupation is somehow connected with death. — *Marc Golden, CBS executive, quoted in "Who Decides What Gets on TV — and Why," by Sam Blum, The New York Times Magazine, September 3, 1967.*

A lot of travel writing is all too obviously a prompt payoff for favors rendered — for an airline trip, for free hotel accommodations, for a meal on the house. Good professional travel writers are working diligently to shake off this image. — *Caskie Stinnett, editor of Holiday, accepting a motel company's award for travel industry development, October 10, 1967.*

